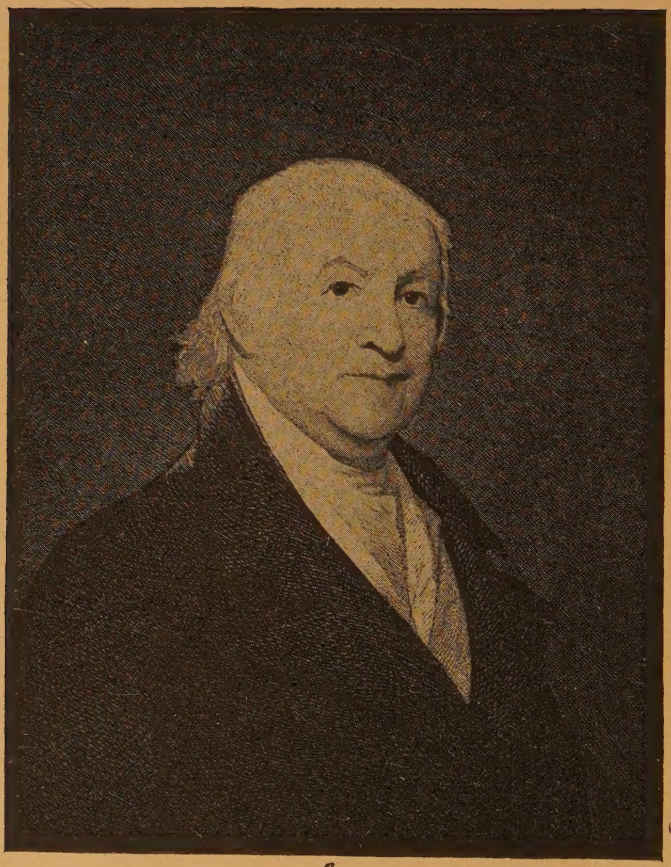
THE LIFE OF COLONEL
PAUL REVERE

With Portraits many
Illustrations. Fac Similes Etc.

LIFE OF PAUL REVERE.



Paul Revere

The *Life* of *Colonel*

PAUL REVERE,

by ELBRIDGE HENRY GOSS, member of *American Historical Association, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Bostonian Society, etc.* With portraits, many illustrations, fac-similes, etc.

In two volumes.

VOL. I.

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To the People of Boston, in whose service he spent his life; whose rights he always championed; and whose liberties he aided so nobly in preserving; this Memorial of *PAUL REVERE* is most respectfully dedicated by the Author.

PREFACE.

WHEN the landlord of the Wayside Inn, in his charming way, told the world of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, but little else was known concerning him. Although his bells were hanging in many steeples; his cannon had been heard around the world; his articles of silverware were sacredly cherished in many a family; a few of his caricatures and historic engravings were still treasured in the hands of those who knew their value; a large industry established by him still continued, and was known by his name; yet Revere himself was comparatively unknown. To-day his

name is a household word; made so, in a great measure, by the muse of Longfellow. But our loved poet gave but one of the many events occurring in the long and varied life of this man. That important incident was emphasized a few years ago by Dallin's equestrian statuette.

It was while examining this model that I resolved to write an illustrated article for the *Magazine of American History*. This duly appeared in the number for January, 1886. I then found that there existed no biography of Revere; only fragmentary sketches of the man here and there; and I determined upon a more extended life of one who had so much to do with Revolutionary men and events. It seemed proper that more should be known of one who was an artificer of many trades; who was relied upon by the leading patriots for valuable services in the times that tried men's souls.

These volumes are the result. It has been my desire to reproduce as many of his engravings and caricatures as could be found; some are irrecoverably lost. Also, to give as

many of his letters and documents as possible.

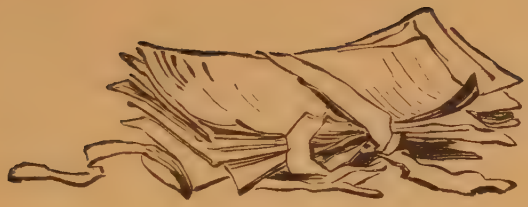
To the family of the late John Revere, grandson of Paul, my warmest acknowledgments are due for free access to the family papers, by which I have been enabled to give many letters, documents and items of interest, not otherwise accessible. Likewise to other branches of the Revere descendants am I indebted.

I wish, also, to express my heartiest gratitude to my friend, Mr. Howard G. Laskey, of Boston, the young and talented artist, who has, *con amore*, made so many of the illustrations for these pages.

If the perusal of these volumes shall prove as pleasant to the reader, as has been their preparation to the writer, I shall be satisfied.

E. H. G.

Melrose, Massachusetts.



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ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE.

PAUL REVERE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE.

THE HUGUENOTS — THE RIVOIRES — APOLLOS RIVOIRE — COMES TO AMERICA — APPRENTICED TO GOLDSMITH — VISITS GUERNSEY — MARRIAGE — FAMILY — PAUL REVERE — LEARNS HIS FATHER'S TRADE — MAKES AND EMBELLISHES SILVERWARE — ENGRAVES COPPER-PLATE — EARLY MILITARY SERVICE — COMMISSIONED BY GOV. SHIRLEY — HIS HISTORY OF THIS SERVICE.

AFTER the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, many Huguenots left France. Some went to England, some to Holland, and many to the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, British possessions, in the English Channel. A little over a century later, in 1685, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV.,

took place; and many thousands more of these French Huguenots fled from their native land, and sought refuge in foreign countries. In these asylums, this persecuted people found a safe retreat; and one in which their religious opinions were tolerated.

Very many of these Huguenots, both before and after the revocation, came to America, and established themselves in the different colonies. Of these, Massachusetts received a large number. Some settled in Oxford, some in Salem, and many in Boston. These American Huguenots lived peaceful and industrious lives, founded families, and left honored memories and worthy descendants.

The Huguenot element as developed in our American civilization has been a welcome and beneficial one. This is very thoroughly and analytically considered by the late Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., in his *History of Huguenot Emigration to America*, who says: "But it is obvious, that the little company of Huguenots that settled in Boston, brought with them qualities that were

needed at that day. They brought a buoyancy and a cheerfulness, that must have been contagious, even amidst pervading austerity. They brought a love for the beautiful, that showed itself in the culture of flowers. They brought religious convictions, that were not the less firm because accompanied by a certain moderation and pliancy in things not held of vital importance. They brought a love for liberty, that was none the less sincere because associated with a tolerance learned in the school of suffering. Boston surely gained by the admission of an element in its population that possessed these traits. And the mispronounced names from beyond the seas, that stand out so boldly on the page of its history — names such as Bowdoin, and Faneuil, and Revere — recall in the flight of the Huguenot to those shores an episode not only pathetic, but important also for its bearing upon social and public life and typical character in New England. . . . Devoted to principle, sturdy in morals, frugal, industrious, and enterprising, the Huguenots closely resembled their English breth-

ren who had sought the New World for conscience' sake. . . . Very few races have ever suffered more for conscience' sake than did the French Huguenots. There is not one whose wrongs have been so amply and justly revenged." [1]

Among these French Huguenots were Paul Revere's ancestors, the DeRivoires, or Rivoires. Of the Rivoires that fled from France during these times of persecution, was Simon, eldest son of Jean and Magdelaine (Malaperge) Rivoire, who first went to Holland and afterward settled in the Island of Guernsey. On leaving France he took with him the arms of the family, in a silver seal; and these arms were afterwards registered in the French Heraldry Book, in the Heraldry Office, London, England.

Another son of Jean and Magdelaine Rivoire, was Isaac, who in 1694 married Serenne Lambert. They had several children, one of whom was named Apollos, the account of whose birth, in the handwriting of his father, was copied from a record of

[1] For other opinions of the Huguenots, see Appendix A.

the births of Jean Rivoire's children, and sent to Paul Revere, Boston, by Mathias

REVERE COAT-OF-ARMS.
[*Engraved by Paul Revere from the Ancestral Seal.*]

Rivoire, a second cousin, of Martel, near St. Foy, France.[1]

"Apollos Rivoire our son was born the

[1] The correspondence from which this and other facts are derived, took place during the years from 1775 to 1787.

thirtieth of November, 1702, about ten o'clock at night, and was baptized at Riancaud, France. Apollos Rivoire my brother was his Godfather and Anne Maulmon my sister-in-law his Godmother. He set out for Guernsey the 21st of November, 1715."[1]

Very soon after the arrival of Apollos in Guernsey,[2] his uncle Simon sent him to

[1] According to the late Gen. Joseph Warren Revere, of Morristown, Pa., who left an interesting MS. account of the DeRivoires, the result of his researches while in France in 1875, the ancestors of the Reveres were an ancient and noble family. He says: "My researches in Vienne and its vicinity made me acquainted with several facts of which I was previously ignorant. One of them was that Apollos Rivoire was the true heir and lineal representative of Simon de Rivoire, and that our branch of the family is consequently the legal heir of the family at the present day. Another remains proved to my satisfaction — that all the other heirs having become extinct, the American family would inherit the titles and estates if any now remained to inherit.

"There are many of the name of Rivoire in this part of France, but I found none who claimed kinship with the ancient family of the Rivoires of Romagnieu.

"*Vienne, May 5th, 1875.* J. W. REVERE."[1]

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] One of that chain of islets, mantled in fog or hidden so completely by bursting billows, which would serve as stepping-stones to a giant who sought to invade Great

Boston, with instructions to his correspondent to have Apollos learn the goldsmith's trade, agreeing to defray all his expenses. When Apollos arrived in Boston he was thirteen years of age, and he at once began his apprenticeship. He learned his trade of John Cony of Boston, who died August 20, 1722; and according to the inventory of his estate in Suffolk Records, lib. 22, page 816, Rivoire did not serve his full apprenticeship, for there is an item to this effect: "Paul Rivoire's time about three years," which was valued at £30, and still another item: "Cash Received for Paul Rivoire's Time, more than it was prized at, £10," which shows that Cony's administrator received a total of £40.

During the year 1723, when he was twenty-one years of age, he returned to Guernsey, on a visit to his relatives; but as he had determined to make America his home, he soon after bade them farewell and sailed for Boston.

Britain from the Continent. — *Lit. Life and Poetical Works of Victor Hugo*, by H. L. Williams, p. 28.

He now established himself in the business of a gold and silversmith, and soon after changed his name to Paul Revere. This change of name was made because of the difficulties arising from pronouncing "his ancestral family name in the English tongue." Revere and Rivoire were variously used for a while, and it was several years before the new surname became firmly established. In the list of subscribers printed in Samuel Mather's life of his father, the "Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D. D. & F. R. S., Late Pastor of the North Church in Boston, who Died Feb. 13, 1727-8," his name appears as "Mr. Paul Rivoire, Goldsmith." [1]

After he had been in business a few years, he married, June 19, 1729, Deborah Hitchborn, who was born in Boston, January 29, 1704. They had a large family of children, twelve in number, the third of whom was Paul, who was born December 21, 1734,

[1] The name was often misspelled. In the reports of the Boston Record Commissioners it appears as Reviere, Reveire, Reverie and Revear.

O. S., or January 1, 1735, N. S.; he was baptized the next day.[1]

At the time of Paul's birth, the Revere residence was probably on North Street, now Hanover, opposite Clark Street, near the corner of Love Lane, now Tileston Street. This is indicated by the following advertisement in *The Weekly News Letter* for May 21, 1730: "Paul Revere, Goldsmith, is Removed from Capt. Pitt's, at the

[1] In the Records of the New Brick Church, for 1722-1775, as published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 19, p. 235, the following are given under the name of Revere:

Deborah,	owned cov.	Feb. 6, 1731-2;
Deborah,	bap.	Feb. 27, 1731-2;
Paul,	bap.	Dec. 22, 1734;
Frances,	bap.	July 18, 1736;
Thomas,	bap.	Aug. 27, 1738;
Thomas,	bap.	Jan. 13, 1739-40;
John,	bap.	Oct. 11, 1741;
Mary, Elizabeth,	twins, bap.	Jul. 13, 1743;
Elizabeth,	bap.	Jan. 20, 1744-5;
Paul,	bap.	Jan. 13, 1760;
Sarah,	bap.	Jan. 3, 1762;
Mary,	bap.	April 1, 1764;
Frances,	bap.	Feb. 23, 1766;
John Revear,	bap.	May 10, 1767;
Edward,	bap.	Oct. 28, 1768;
Anna,	bap.	March, 1771;
Hannah,	bap.	April 18, 1773.

Of these only those born previous to 1760 were children of the original Paul; the rest were grandchildren.

Town Dock, to the North End over against Col. Hutchinson's." Col. Thomas Hutchinson was then living on the south-easterly corner of North and Clark Streets. The New North Church, then, as now, occupied the opposite corner. Without doubt Revere's shop and homestead were in the same building.

He was a member of the "New Brick," or "Cockerel Church," and the following fac-simile is from a subscription paper for that church, which is now in the possession of Rowland Ellis, Esq., of Newton Centre, formerly a resident of the North End, Boston, and an attendant upon this same church. This paper is drawn up in a large, firm handwriting, and is as follows:

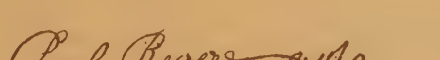
"We the Subscribers usually attending the Publick Worship with the Church & Congregation of which the Rev^{d}. Mess^{s}. W^{m}. Welsted & Ellis Gray are the present Pastors do voluntarily subscribe the several Sums affixd to our names to be applyd to the Support of said Pastors. And we promise

the said Sums weekly by Contribution & to mark the same with the first Letters of our Names or the numbers of our Pews. And in case it shall appear to the Committee of the Proprietors Twelve months after this date that we have been deficient in the respective Sums now engag'd we promise to pay Deacon John Tudor so much as said Committee shall determine we have been deficient to be applyd to the purpose aforesaid.

"Witness our hands in Boston, January the 28, 1747."

The first name on the paper is that of "Thomas Hutchinson Twenty shillings 1. —. — Old Tenor."

Then follow seventy-six other names; and among them that of



PAUL REVERE, SENIOR.[1]

[1] Paul Revere, Senior, died in Boston, January 22, 1754. His wife died May, 1777.

Paul, the son, was educated at the "North Grammar School" on North Ben-

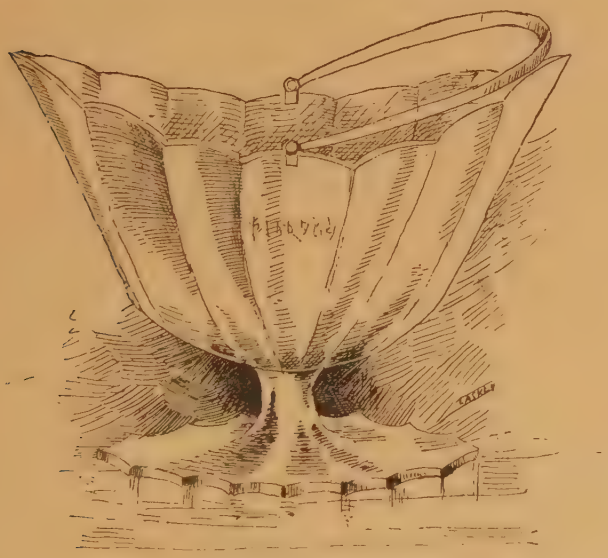
TANKARD, CUP, AND SPOON.[1]

net Street, with which school the famous pedagogue, John Tileston, was connected as

[1] This Tankard was made by Paul Revere, senior, and has the name of Rebecca Goodwill, 1747, engraved upon it. It weighs 29½ ounces, and now belongs to Mrs. William H. Emery, of Newton, Mass. The Cup and Spoon were made by the son, and belong to Henry H. Edes, Esq., of Charlestown, who also owns other articles of silverware made by him. All other articles of silverware sketched for these volumes were made by the son, Paul Revere.

pupil, usher, and master, for a period of eighty years.

After leaving school, he entered his father's shop, and learned the trade of a gold and silversmith. He possessed a natu-

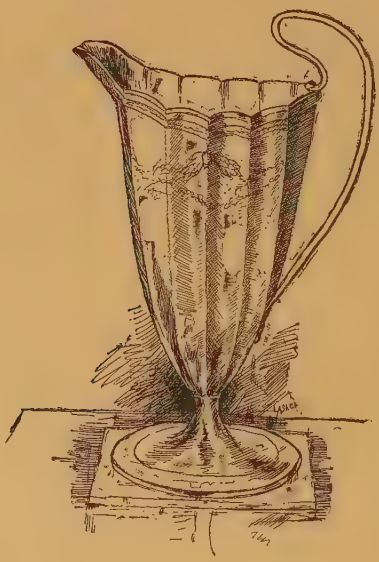


SILVER SUGAR BASKET.[1]

ral taste for drawing, and became very skilful in the use of the graver; executing most of the embellishments on the silver-

[1] Belongs to Hon. Martin P. Kennard, late Assistant United States Treasurer, at Boston.

ware then manufactured in Boston. For many years his skill in design, and workmanship in silverware was very extensive. Many are the cups, spoons, mugs,



SILVER CREAM EWER.[1]

pitchers, tankards, and other articles of beautiful patterns, made by him, and still owned by our New England families; some are now in everyday use; all are treas-

[1] Belongs to Mrs. John C. Lodge, Boston.

ured relics. "If not as famous or gifted as Cellini, abundant monuments remain to prove that Revere was also an artist, as praiseworthy for the beauty and grace of his artistic creations as for their excellent handiwork."

Long practice in the successful embellishment of silverware caused him to learn the art of engraving on copper-plate, entirely self-taught; and numerous specimens of his handiwork in this line are still in existence, treasured memorials of a skilful and patriotic hand. Many of his pictures were political caricatures, and engravings of historic scenes closely connected with the struggle for Independence.

Paul's father was not only a very industrious man, but strict and austere in the requirements of the tenets of his religious belief; and it was with much regret and displeasure that he saw Paul attending, as he did for a while, the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew's "West Church" on Lynde Street, instead of that of his own pastor. He became a firm friend of this minister,

and one of his first attempts at engraving was the execution of a portrait of this preacher-friend, which was used in one of the volumes of Mayhew's published sermons; it was crude, and a not very flattering production. So great was the solicitude of the father at this time, that he often expostulated with his son, but in vain; and finally there came a blow. "It was good discipline, early developing a sense of injustice at encroachments on personal rights; educating him for that conflict of his maturer years, when he was to help in establishing on more national foundations the civil and religious liberties of his country."[1]

Paul early exhibited a taste for the military service, and while the fourth inter-colonial war between England and France was in progress, he joined the second campaign against Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, then in possession of the French, which was organized in 1756, and placed under the command of General John Wins-

[1] Thomas C. Amory, in *Student and Schoolmate* for 1869, p. 276.

low, who led the expedition against the Acadians in 1755.

He was commissioned by Gov. Shirley, as second lieutenant in the company of artillery. His commission was as follows:

"PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

William Shirley Esquire Captain General and Governour in chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Vice Admiral of the Same, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North America.

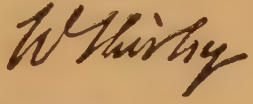
"To PAUL REVERE GENTLEMAN — *Greeting.* By Virtue of the Power and Authority in and by his Majesty's Royal Commission to me granted to be Captain General &c[a]: over this His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid I do by these Presents reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good conduct, constitute and appoint you the said Paul Revere to be Second Lieutenant of

the Train of Artillery, to be employed in the intended Expedition against Crown Point under the command of Richard Gridley Esquire, in the Forces raised or to be raised within this and the neighbouring Governments whereof the Honourable John Winslow Esquire is General and Commander in Chief.

"You are therefore carefully and dilligently to discharge the Duty of Second Lieutenant in the said Train in ordering and exercising the Great Artillery &c[a]: both Inferiour Officers and Montrosses, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline: hereby commanding them to obey you as their Second Lieutenant, and yourself to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from the Commander in Chief, or other your Superiour for his Majesty's service, according to Rules and Discipline of War pursuant to the Trust reposed in you.

"Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Boston, the eighteenth day of February In the twenty ninth year of the

reign of his Majesty King George the Second, Annoque Domini 1756.



"By His Excellency's Command
"THO^{S} CLARKE
"Dp^{ty} Secry." [1]

He gives the history of this service in a certificate written by him, for some purpose, sixty years afterwards, and only two years before he died:

I Paul Revere of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Esqr:, of Lawfull Age, do testify & say, that in the Year of our Lord, 1756, I was a Second Lieutenant in a Company of Artillery, on an Expedition against the French at Crown point: the Artillery was commanded by Richard Gridley Esqr:,

[1] From a copy of the commission, now in possession of a great-grandson, Paul Revere, Esq., of Morristown, N. J. A portion of the original commission is owned by another great-grandson, Joseph Warren Revere, Esq., of Canton, Mass., and from this is traced the Governor's signature.

who at the same time Commanded a Regiment of Infantry, on the same Expedition. (I was then twenty one Years of Age.) The Regiment, and Artillery, were stationed at Fort William Henry, on Lake George, from the month of May to the month of November of the same year. The Army was Commanded by General Winslow as commander-in-Chief; and by General Lyman as Lieutenant General.

"PAUL REVERE.

"*Boston, April 27th, 1816.*" [1]

[1] Copied from the original autograph in the possession of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Boston, Mass.

MARRIAGE, HOME, AND BUSINESS.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE, HOME, AND BUSINESS.

RESUMES TRADE — MARRIAGE — HOME ON FISH STREET — NORTH SQUARE HOMESTEAD — BOSTON MASSACRE TRANSPARENCIES — NEW BRICK CHURCH — FIRST ENGRAVINGS — STAMP-ACT ILLUSTRATIONS.

AFTER this experience in military life, Revere resumed the peaceful duties of his trade, as gold and silversmith. Very soon after, August 17, 1757, he married Sarah Orne, a native of Boston, who was born April 7, 1736. Just where he lived after his marriage is not known; but five years later his home was on Fish (now North) Street, near the head of Clark's Wharf.

This was afterwards Hancock's Wharf, and was on the northerly side of what is now Lewis Wharf. This was without doubt the house referred to in his Day-book,

chronicled under date of November 2, 1762, as follows: "This Day I hired a house of Doc^{r}. John Clark Esqr. Joyning to M^{r}. Cocran at Sixteen Pounds Lawfull Money a year." Here he lived and carried on his goldsmith's trade, adding thereto, as the years went by, other industries of quite a different nature, to be referred to hereafter. In 1770, he bought a house in North Square, then one of the best localities in the town, containing some of the finest residences. It was, indeed, the Court-end of Boston. For this he paid £213, 6s. 8d., giving a mortgage on the same for £160, which was paid off in due time.[1] For about a quarter of a century, and all through the years of the War of the Rev-

[1] In the proceedings of the Bostonian Society, for 1886, page 28, there is printed a deed given by Paul and Sarah Revere, dated June 10, 1771, conveying a small portion of this land lying next the "New Brick Meeting house" to Manasseh Marston. The following memorandum, not there given, is penned on the back of this deed:

Sept. 15, 1776.

"This is to tell them that ones this a state after me that Paul Revere have Bult a Barn & set the Barn on my Land one feet which he Is to Remove Whenever the Person that ones this Land shall Desire him or them that ones his Land after him."

olution, this was his homestead; and here most of his large family of children were born.

This old house, with its antique, projecting upper stories, was built soon after the great fire of 1676. It is still standing, one of the old landmarks, and is in very fair condition. Its upper stories are occupied as a tenement, while its street floor is utilized as a shop. It has undergone some changes; having now four windows in a row instead of the original three, while "the present unsightly shop leaves little trace of the quiet colonial parlor which it has invaded. The interior has been remodelled several times, although the kitchen seems to have been left very much as it was."[1]

It was from these chamber windows that Revere exhibited a unique series of transparencies for the first anniversary exercises of the Boston Massacre, on the 5th of March, 1771. In the south window was the appearance of the ghost of Chris-

[1] *Rambles in Old Boston*, by Rev. Edward G. Porter, p. 320.

topher Snider, "with one of his fingers in the wound, endeavoring to stop the blood issuing therefrom; near him his friends

HOMESTEAD OF PAUL REVERE, NORTH SQUARE.
[*Present Appearance.*]

weeping; at a small distance, a monumental pyramid with his name on the top,

and the names of those killed on the fifth of March round the base;" underneath was this inscription:

"Snider's pale ghost fresh bleeding stands,
And vengeance for his death demands."

In the next window were represented the soldiers drawn up firing at the people assembled before them; the dead on the ground, the wounded falling, and blood streaming from their wounds; over this was written: "Foul Play." In the third window, was the figure of a woman, representing America, sitting on the stump of a tree, with a staff in her hand with the cap of liberty on its top, one foot on the head of a grenadier, lying prostrate, grasping a serpent, her finger pointing to the tragedy.[1] The bells of the town tolled from twelve to one o'clock noon, and from nine to ten o'clock in the evening. Dr.

[1] "The spectators," said the *Boston Gazette*, "were struck with solemn silence, and their countenances were covered with a melancholy gloom."

Thomas Young delivered the anniversary oration in the Manufactory House.[1]

After Revere's marriage he continued a constant attendant of the "New Brick Church," on Middle, now Hanover Street. By the union of the "Second Church," which was on North Square, with the "New Brick," the latter, in 1789, became the "Second Church." It was also known as the "Cockerel Church."[2] For many years Revere, who was a pew proprietor, served upon the Standing Committee of this Church, exercising great care and consideration;[3] "for wherever he was, he was active and prominent."

One of his earliest productions, as an engraver, was an allegorical representation of the "Stamp Act" troubles. His art was

[1] James S. Loring, in *Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 24, 25.

[2] So named from the cockerel vane, made by Deacon Shem Drowne, in 1721, which did duty there for one hundred and forty-eight years, and is now doing service on the "Shepard Memorial Church," of Cambridge.

[3] Letter of Rowland Ellis, Esq., July 19, 1888, whose father's pew was next to Revere's.

always used in favor of the people; of the masses; he was quick at perceiving the striking features of the hour; and his ready genius to portray them made him the "off-hand artist of many caricatures intended to bring ridicule upon the enemy, and the author of various sketches of interesting scenes of which he was an eye witness." [1]

"His bold attempts at copper-plate engraving are rude enough to be sure; but they were considered good at the time, and were vastly better than nothing. His keen sense of humor found congenial employment in the caricatures of political events which issued frequently from his shop and obtained a wide popularity." [2]

The inscription for the "Allegory" on page 33 is as follows:

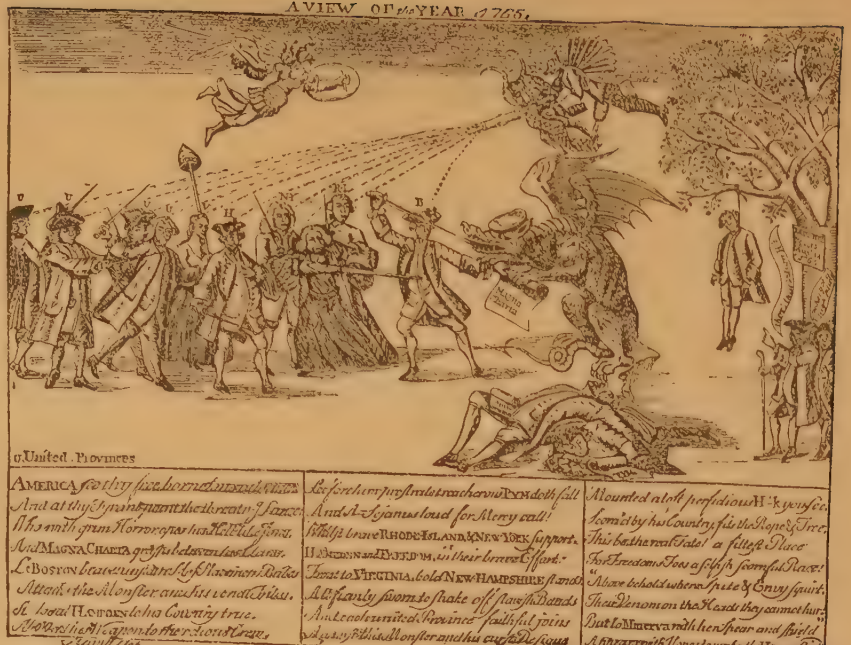
"America! see thy free born sons advance
And at thy Tyrant point the threatng Lance!
Who with grim Horror opes his Hell-like Jaws,

[1] *Memorial of Paul Joseph and Edward H. R. Revere*, by Robert P. Rogers and Maria A. Revere, p. 8.

[2] *Rambles in Old Boston*, by Rev. Edward G. Porter, p. 322.

And MAGNA CHARTA grasps between his Claws.
Lo BOSTON brave! unstain'd by Placemen's Bribe
'Attack the Monster and his venal Tribe.'
See loyal Hampden to his Country true,
Present his Weapon to the odious Crew;
See 'fore him prostrate treacherous PYM doth fall
And A-Sejanus loud for Mercy call!
Whilst brave RHODE ISLAND, & NEW YORK support,
HAMPDEN and FREEDOM, in their brave Effort:
Front to VIRGINIA, bold NEW HAMPSHIRE stands
All firmly sworn to shake off slavish Bands
And each united Province faithful joins
Against the Monster and his curst designs,
Mounted aloft perfidious H — k you see,
Scorned by his Country, fits the Rope & Tree;
This be the real Fate! a fittest Place
For Freedom's Foes a selfish scornful Race!
'Above behold where Spite & Envy squirt
Their VENOM on the Heads they cannot hurt;
But lo MINERVA with her Spear and Shield'
Appears with Hopes to make the Harpies yield."

A card accompanying the plate in the


A VIEW OF the YEAR 1765.
United Provinces
AMERICA see thy face horn'd round with Woes
And at thy Breast the Serpent there to Sucke
Thy Sons with grim Horror regard the Child
And MAGNA CHARTA grasp'd as even has been
Let BOSTON brave every Shape of Slavery in Dutch
Attack the Monster and his vends Tribe
St Lord HOWARD be his Country true
Now at the Cannon to other Scenes Crew
But fore her eyes Fiends treacherous DEATH doth sail
And at Britannia loud for Mercy call
Whilst brave RHODE-ISLAND, NEW YORK support
HANCOCK and ADAMS, in their breves Effort
Treat to VIRGINIA, bold NEW HAMPSHIRE stands
All Gallantly sworn to shake off slavish Bands
And each united Province faithful joins
Against this hellish Monster and his curs'd Designs
Mounted aloft perfidious H-k pens his
Doom'd by his Country, fix the Rope & Tree
Thus both the real Fiends a fitter Place
For Freedom's Foes a fitter scorn'd Place
Above behold where Spite & Envy spurt
Their Venom on the Heads they cannot hurt
But to Minerva with her Spear and Shield
Appear with Hopes to make it Harmless yield
Printed & Sold by P. Revere, Boston

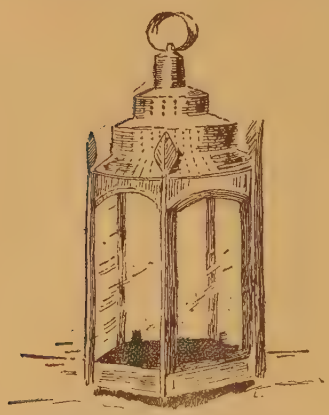
ALLEGORY OF THE YEAR 1765.

possession of the family, in Revere's handwriting, gives this description: "The odious Stamp Act represented by the Dragon confronted by Boston with drawn sword. The colonies New York and Rhode Island support Hampden. New Hampshire and Virginia with the other United Colonies are also represented. While from the Liberty Tree hangs the officer of the Crown."[1]

This famous act was the subject of another plate produced by Revere. When the waiting inhabitants of Boston were gladdened with the "important account of the Repeal of the American Stamp Act," brought by the brigantine Harrison, Captain Shubael Coffin, on the 16th of May, 1766, there were great demonstrations of joy. The bells of the churches were rung, guns were discharged in different parts of the town, ships displayed their colors, the streets were filled with music, and in the evening there were

[1] The "Great Tree" stood on the corner of Washington and Essex Streets. It was called "Liberty Tree" from August 14, 1765, when the effigy of Mr. Oliver, the Stamp officer, was hung thereon.

bonfires. In the afternoon of that day the Selectmen met and appointed Monday, the 19th, as a day of general rejoicing. Great preparations were made for this celebration. Very early in the morning all the bells in town were rung; banners, flags and streamers were displayed; drums and martial music filled the air; guns were discharged from different parts of the town during the day. In the evening there was a general illumination, and on the Common a great display of fireworks. There had been erected on the Common an obelisk, or pyramid, which was intended to be removed after the celebration, and placed under the famous "Liberty Tree" on the corner of Washington and Essex Streets; but, by some accident during the evening, it took fire and was destroyed. It was designed by Revere, and



LIBERTY TREE LANTERN.
[*Belongs to Bostonian Society.*]

THE LIBERTY TREE.

he had prepared and issued a descriptive plate before the celebration took place. When Samuel G. Drake published his "History of Boston," only one impression of this plate was known to be in existence, and that belonged to Mr. John F. Eliot, of Boston. In 1881, R. D. Child and A. O. Crane of Boston, published a fac-simile of this print. Since then the original plate has been found. It belongs to Thomas S. Collier, of New London, Conn. Like most of Revere's copper-plates, both sides were utilized. On the other side is a finely embellished certificate of membership for the Masonic Fraternity.

The plate is thirteen and a half inches long, and nine and a half wide. On the top is this inscription: "A VIEW of the OBELISK erected under LIBERTY-TREE in Boston on the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp Act 1766."[1]

At the bottom: "To every Lover of LIBERTY this Plate is humbly dedicated

[1] As the plate was prepared before the event it does not indicate that it was first erected on the Common.

by her true born SONS in BOSTON, New England." The four sides of the obelisk are represented, each containing four heads, a sketch and ten descriptive lines. On the first side the four portraits are: "D. Y — k," Duke of York; "M — q — s R — m," Marquis of Rockingham; "Q. C.," Queen Charlotte; "K. G. III," King George III.

The verse is:

"O thou, whom next to Heav^{n} we most revere
Fair LIBERTY! thou lovely Goddess hear!
Have we not woo'd thee, won thee, held thee long,
Lain in thy Lap & melted on thy Tongue.
Thro Death & Dangers rugged paths pursu'd
And led thee smiling to this SOLITUDE.
Hid thee within our Hearts most golden Cell
And brav'd the Powers of Earth & Powers of Hell.
GODDESS! we cannot part, thou must not fly;
Be SLAVES! we dare to Scorn it — dare to die."

Beneath is the sketch: "America recumbent and dejected, in the form of an Indian chief, under a pine tree, the angel of Liberty hovering over; the Prime minister advanc-

Stamp Act
1768
To Every Lover of LIBERTY. this Plate is (humbly dedicated by her true born SONS. in BOSTON New England
1. America in distress apprehending the total loss of LIBERTY 2. She implores the aid of her PATRONS & She endures the Conflict for a short season 3. And has her LIBERTY restored by the Royal hand of GEORGE the Third.
Paul Revere Sculp.

STAMP ACT OBELISK.

ing with a chain, followed by one of the bishops, and others, Bute clearly designated by his Scotch plaid, and gaiters; over head, flying towards the Indian, with the stamp act in his right claw, is the Devil; of whom it is manifest our patriotic sires had a very clever conception." [1] This is entitled, "America in distress, apprehending the total loss of LIBERTY."

On the second side: "G — l C — y," General Conway; "L — d T — d," Lord Townsend; "C — l B — e," Colonel Barré: "W — m P — t," William Pitt.

"While clanking Chains & Curses shall salute
Thine Ears remorseless G — le, thine O B — e
To you blest PATRIOTS! we our Cause submitt
Illustrious CAMDEN! Britains Guardian PITT.
Recede not, frown not, rather let us be
Depriv'd of being, than of LIBERTY.
Let fraud or malice blacken all our Crimes

[1] The descriptions of these sketches beneath the lines are from *Dealings with the Dead*, by "A Sexton of the Old School" (Lucius Manlius Sargent). The lines were written by Revere, as was the case with most of his plates having inscriptions beneath the engraving.

No disaffection stains these peaceful Climes;
O save us, shield us from impending Woes
The foes of Britain, only are our Foes."

Beneath is the sketch: "America, on one knee, pointing over her shoulder towards a retreating group, composed, as the chain and the plaid inform us, of the Prime Minister Bute, and company, upon whose heads a thunder-cloud is bursting. At the same time America — the Indian, as before — supplicates the aid of others, whose leader is being crowned, by Fame, with a laurel wreath. The enormous nose — a great help to identification — marks the Earl of Chatham; Camden may be known by his wig; and Barré by his military air." The title is, "She implores the aid of her PATRONS." On the third side: "L — d D — h," Lord Dartmouth; "A — n B — d," Alderman Beckford; "L — d D — l," — "C — s T — d," Charles Townshend.

"Boast foul Oppression, boast thy transient Reign
While honest FREEDOM struggles with her Chain;

But know the Sons of Virtue, hardy, brave,
Disdain to lose thro' mean Dispair to save
Arrouz'd in Thunder, awfull they appear
With proud deliverance stalking in their Rear
While Tyrant-Foes their pallid Fears betray
Shrink from their Arms, & give their Vengeance way.
See in th' unequal War OPPRESSORS fall
The hate, contempt, and endless Curse of all."

Beneath is the sketch: "The Tree of Liberty, with an eagle feeding its young, in the topmost branches, and an angel advancing with an ægis;" and its title is, "She endures the Conflict, for a short Season."

On the fourth side: "L — d G — e S — k — e," Lord George Sackville; "Mr. DeB — t," Mr. Dennis DeBert; "J — n W — s," John Wilkes; "L — d C — n," Lord Camden.

"Our FAITH approved, our LIBERTY restor'd,
Our Hearts bend grateful to our Sover'gn Lord;
Hail darling Monarch! by this act endear'd
Our firm affections are thy best reward
Sh'd Britains self, against herself devide,

And hostile Armies frown on either Side,
Sh'd Hosts rebellious shake our Brunswick's Throne
And as they dar'd thy Parent, dare the Son,
To this Asylum stretch thine happy Wing
And we'll contend, who best shall love our KING."

The sketch is: "George the Third, in armor, resembling a Dutch widow, in a long-short, introducing America to the goddess of liberty, who are, apparently, just commencing the Polka. At the bottom of the engraving are the words — Paul Revere Sculp. Our ancestors dealt rather in fact than fiction — they were no poets." Its title is, "And has her LIBERTY restored by the Royal hand of GEORGE the Third."

A curious caricature of the Stamp Act trouble was issued at this time. It is not known who engraved it, and there are but few copies in existence. The plate is twelve by eighteen inches.

As the procession approaches the "Family Vault," decorated with the skulls of 1715–1745, the burial service is being read,

BURIAL OF THE REPEALED STAMP ACT.

and a "Funeral Sermon by Anti Sejanus" pronounced. The coffin is labeled "Miss Anne Stamp B. 1765 died 1766." The banners have an illustration of the stamps upon them. The bales at the right are labeled "Black Cloth from America" and "Stamps from America." "A Statue of Mr Pitt" is being loaded from the largest of the warehouses, which has upon it: "The Sheffield and Birmingham Warehouse. Goods Now Ship'd for America." The other buildings along the wharf are marked "Liverpool," "Leeds," "Halifax," and "Manchester." The large vessels are named "Conway," "Rockingham," and "Grafton."

ENGRAVINGS AND CARICATURES.

CHAPTER III.

ENGRAVINGS AND CARICATURES.

OLD SINGING-BOOKS — THE MASSACHUSETTS CIRCULAR LETTER — THE KING OFFENDED — ORDER TO RESCIND — CARICATURE OF THE SEVENTEEN RESCINDERS — PUNCH-BOWL TO THE NON-RESCINDERS — BOSTON MASSACRE ILLUSTRATIONS — HIS DAY-BOOK — THE NORTH BATTERY — VIEWS OF BOSTON — SAMUEL ADAMS — JOHN HANCOCK — MAGAZINE ILLUSTRATIONS — VARIOUS ENGRAVINGS.

IN the *Boston Gazette* for February 4, 1765, there appeared the following advertisement:

"Just published and to be sold by Josiah Flagg and Paul Revere in Fish Street, at the North End of Boston — A Collection of the Psalm Tunes in two, three and four Parts, from the most celebrated Authors; fitted to all Measures and approved of by the best Masters in Boston, New England.

To which are added, some Hymns and Anthems; the greater Part of them never before Printed in America.

"*Set in score by* JOSIAH FLAGG.[1]
"*Engraved by* PAUL REVERE."

Five years later another note-book was published bearing this title:

"THE
NEW-ENGLAND PSALM-SINGER:
OR,
AMERICAN CHORISTER.
CONTAINING
A NUMBER OF PSALM-TUNES, ANTHEMS AND CANONS.

[1] Josiah Flagg was a Jeweller and kept on Fish Street near Revere; and his portion of the cost of this work appears with other items in the following charge from Revere's Day-book:

"MR. JOSIAH FLAGG To PAUL REVERE DR.

To a Verbal Order from Mr. John Williams	£6 ,, 15 ,, 0
To a pr of Silver Shoe Buckles 1 oz and Making	5 ,, 12 ,, 6
To Silver lent 2 oz 2 pt £5 ,, 5 to two turtle Shell butt'n 10 |	5 ,, 15 ,, 0
To Gold lent 3 pt £5 ,, 14 To Cash lent 11 |	6 ,, 5 ,, 0
To Cash paid you in the Street	2 ,, 5 ,, 0
To a Silver Cream Pot Wt 5 oz £12 ,, 10 to making £6	18 ,, 10 ,, 0
To Silver lent 11 pt 27 | to Engraving 2 Rings 5 |	1 ,, 12 ,, 0
To Gold lent 2 ,, 18 £5 ,, 4 ,, 6 To Cash £2 ,, 10	7 ,, 14 ,, 6
To one half of Engraving Copper Plates for Singing Book	150 ,, 0 ,, 0
	£204 ,, 9 ,, 6"

The BOSTONIANS in DISTRESS.

IN FOUR AND FIVE PARTS.
[NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.]
COMPOSED BY WILLIAM BILLINGS,
A NATIVE OF BOSTON, IN NEW-ENGLAND.

MATTHEW XXI. 16. — OUT OF THE MOUTH OF BABES AND SUCKLINGS THOU HAST PERFECTED PRAISE.

JAMES V. 13. — IS ANY MERRY? LET HIM SING PSALMS.

O praise the Lord with one Consent, and in his grand Design,
Let Britain and the Colonies, unanimously join.

BOSTON: NEW-ENGLAND. PRINTED BY
EDES AND GILL.
AND TO BE SOLD BY THEM AT THEIR PRINTING-OFFICE IN QUEEN-STREET; BY DEACON ELLIOT, UNDER LIBERTY-TREE; BY JOSIAH FLAGG, IN FISH-STREET; BY GILLAM BASS, THE CORNER OF ANN-STREET, AND BY THE AUTHOR.
[PRICE EIGHT SHILLINGS, L.M.]"

It has a curious frontispiece which was engraved by Revere. It represents the interior of a room, with seven men in full-dress, with powdered wigs, seated at a

round-table engaged in singing; the whole surrounded with a staff of music, entitled: "A Canon of 6 in One with a Ground — the Words by ye Rev^d^. D^r^. Byles. Set to Music by W. Billings." Underneath this: "N. B. the Ground Bass to be continually Sung by

THE SINGING SCHOOL.

3 or 4 deep Voices with the 6 other parts." Its 96 pages of music were engraved by Revere on copper-plates, almost every one of which bears evidence of being badly

cracked; some of them in many places. On the bottom of page 1 there is the following note: "No doubt the reader will excuse my not adapting words to all the tunes as it is attended with great inconvenience;" and on page 2: "N. B. I have put C. M. for common metre L. M. for long metre S. M. for short metre P. M. for Particular metre." Its introductory pages contain "An Essay on the Nature and Properties of Sound," "Rules of Musick," an ode "On Music" and a "New England Hymn," by Rev. Dr. Byles, "An Hymn compos'd by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, with design to be sung at his own Funeral," and the following "Advertisement. To the generous Subscribers for this Book. The Author having to his great Loss deferred the Publication of these Sheets for Eighteen Months, to have them put upon American Paper, hopes the Delay will be pardoned; and the good Ladies, Heads of Families, into whose Hands they may fall, will zealously endeavour to furnish the Paper Mills with all the Fragments of Linnen they can

possibly afford: Paper being the Vehicle of Literature, and Literature the Spring and Security of human Happiness." On its fly-leaf, in large, handsome handwriting, appears the name of the owner: "Olney Winsor's Book. Bou^{t}. June 18th 1776."[1]

In 1768, Revere produced another caricature which attracted much attention; and like the Stamp Act illustrations, was very popular and had an extensive sale. "On the 11th of Feb. 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts by a large majority passed Resolutions authorizing a Circular Letter to be sent to the several General Assemblys on the Continent. It gave great offense to the King, and in a letter from Lord Hillsborough to Gov. Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, he says: 'therefore it is the King's pleasure that as soon as the General Court is again assembled at the time prescribed by the Charter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in His Majesty's name, to *rescind* the resolution which gave

[1] This, the only copy known to be in existence, is now the property of Alfred S. Manson, Esq., of Boston.

birth to the Circular letter from the Speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, & dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding;' — and in case 'the new assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty's reasonable expectations, it is the King's pleasure you should immediately dissolve them.' Gov. Bernard made the requisition in a Message on the 21st June; it was refer'd to a Committee who reported against on the 30th, — when the Question was put, & decided as follows: For Rescinding 17. Against it 92. The General Court was immediately dissolved by Gov. Bernard. The Seventeen Rescinders were W^m^. Brown & Peter Frye of Salem, Richard Saltonstall, Haverhill, John Calef, Ipswich, Jacob Fowle, Marblehead, Jonathan Bliss, Springfield, Israel Williams, Hatfield, Jonathan Ashley, W. Deerfield, Joseph Root, Sunderland, John Ashley, Sheffield, Timothy Ruggles, Hardwick, Jonathan Sayward, York, John Chadwick, Tyringham, Josiah Edson, Bridgewater, Chillingsworth Foster, Harwich, Wm. Jennigan, Edgartown, Mathew Mayhew, Chilmark.

This account and list of names is copied from the back of the original, which is here reproduced.

A WARM PLACE — HELL
On brave RESCINDERS! to yon yawning Cell,
SEVENTEEN such Miscreants, sure will fill it!
There puny Villains damn'd for petty Sin,
On such distinguish'd SCOUNDRELS gaze and grin:
The out done DEVIL will resign his Sway,
He never curst his MILLIONS in a day.

THE RESCINDERS.[1]

The representation, entitled "A Warm Place — Hell," has a pair of monstrous open jaws, resembling those of a shark,

[1] This is the only known original and belongs to Mr. Nathaniel G. Eliot of Roxbury, Mass. The imprint is: "Pub. Accord'g to Act by Marly."

somewhat, from which flames are issuing; Satan, with a large pitchfork, is driving the seventeen Rescinders into the flames, exclaiming: "Now, I've got you! A fine haul, by Jove!" As a reluctance is shown by the foremost man at entering, who is supposed to represent Hon. Timothy Ruggles, who afterwards became a noted royalist, another devil flying towards him with a fork cries: "Push on, Tim!" Over the upper jaw is seen, in the background, the cupola of the Province House, the residence of the Governor, with the Indian and bow and arrow[1] the arms of the Province. These rescinders were stigmatized and treated with contempt.

While Revere was engaged in executing this picture, Dr. Benjamin Church came into his shop, and seeing what he was

[1] This vane, which for more than a century decked the Province House, was made by Deacon Shem Drowne; and some years after that house was destroyed it became the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in one of the rooms of which it may still be seen swinging on its original pivot. Deacon Drowne also made the grasshopper vane still on Faneuil Hall.

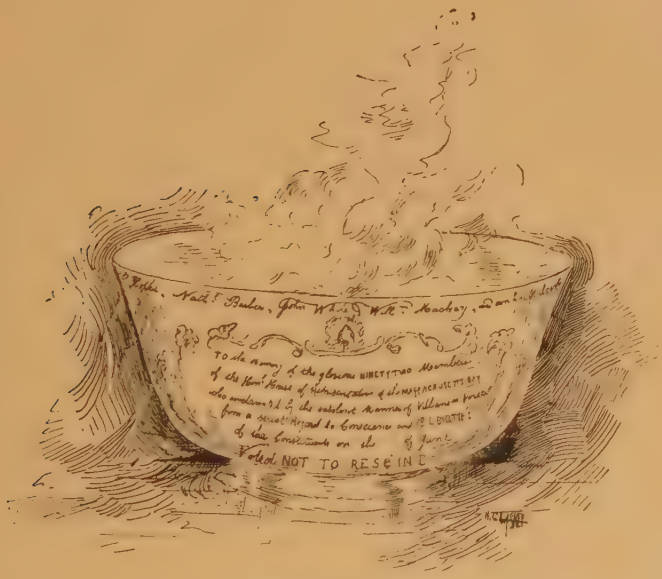
about, took a pen and wrote the lines beneath:

"On brave Rescinders! to yon yawning cell!
Seventeen such miscreants there will startle hell;
These puny *Villains,* damned for petty sin,
On such distinguished *Scoundrels* gaze and grin;
The out-done *Devil* will resign his sway;
He never curst his millions in a day."

When Revere was about eighty years of age, a copy of this print was shown him. He said he had not seen it for many years; was pleased to know that one was in existence, and offered to buy it, saying that when he sketched it, he was a young man zealous in the cause of liberty, but he had forgotten many of the circumstances connected with it; but this he did remember, that when he was engaged upon it, the famous Doctor Church came into his shop, took a pen and wrote the lines as given above, which he quoted from memory.

To those who voted not to rescind, there was presented a large and handsome Silver Punch-Bowl by the following fifteen "Sons of

Liberty" of Boston, for whom it was made, and whose names are engraved in a "round robin" near the top, to indicate equality



SILVER PUNCH BOWL.

and common responsibility: John Homer, John White, William Bowes, William Mackay, Peter Boyer, Daniel Malcom, Benjamin Cobb, Benjamin Goodwin, Caleb Hopkins, John Welsh, Nathaniel Barber, Fortesque Vernon, Daniel Parker, John Marston, Icha-

bod Jones. The inscription upon its front is as follows:

"To the Memory of the glorious Ninety-two Members of the Honorable House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, who, undaunted by the insolent Menaces of Villians in Power, from a strict regard to Conscience and the Liberties of their Constituents, on the 30th of June, 1768, Voted, NOT TO RESCIND."

This inscription is surrounded by a wreath, and surmounted by a liberty cap. On the opposite side of the bowl is a smaller wreath encircling the words, —

"No. 45
"Wilkes and Liberty."

This refers to the fact that John Wilkes in No. 45 of his *North Briton* vindicated the act of the Colonies. Upon the surface of the bowl there are also two standards, "Magna Charta," being engraved upon the right-hand one, and "Bill of Rights" upon the left; beneath is engraved a torn document, inscribed, "General Warrants," meaning the

governmental warrants giving authority to search houses. "The bowl, simple in form, and without chasing, is of pure standard silver of substantial thickness, and hammered work. It was manufactured by Paul Revere, whose name is modestly stamped underneath. It weighs forty-four ounces and seven pennyweights. It is nearly six inches in depth and eleven inches in diameter, and will hold about a gallon. It rests upon a thick-rimmed base, or foot, of an inch in breadth. Mr. William Mackay bought out the shares of his associates in its proprietorship. It now belongs to his grandson, Mr. Robert Caldwell Mackay of this city."[1]

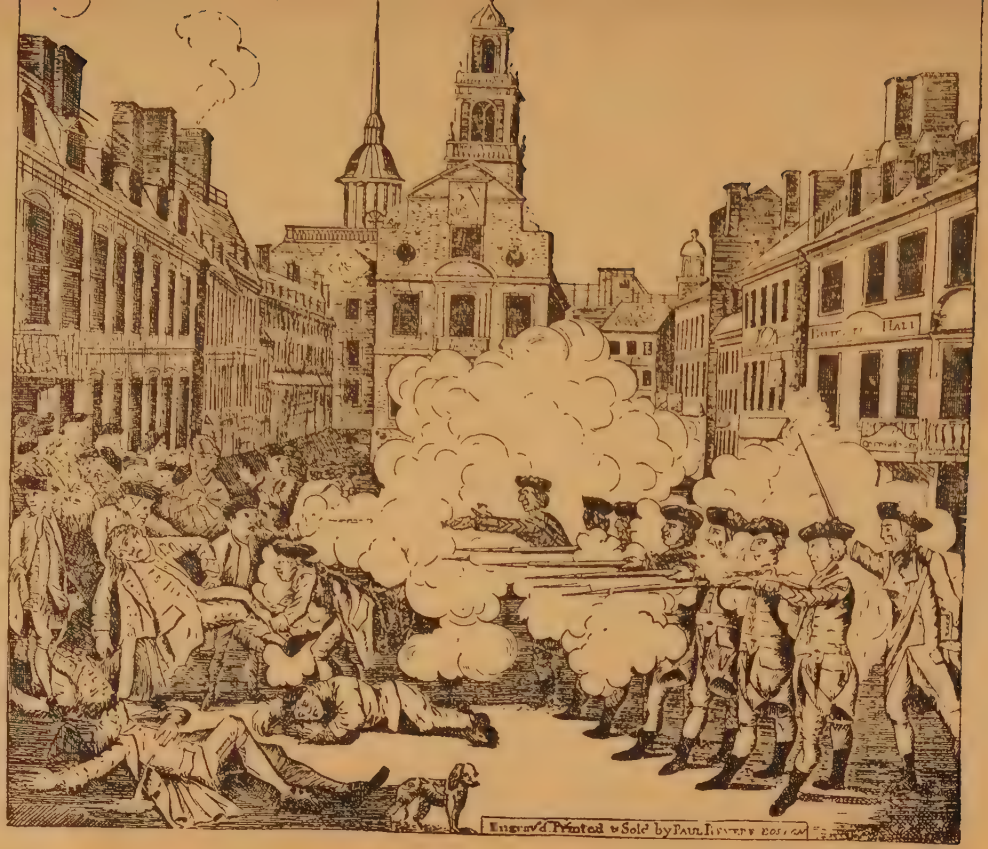
His view of "The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King-Street, BOSTON, on March 5th. 1770, by a party of the 29th REGT." which represents so important an event in our history, like many of his pictures, has been reproduced in different historical works. Its imprint is "Engrav'd, Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE,

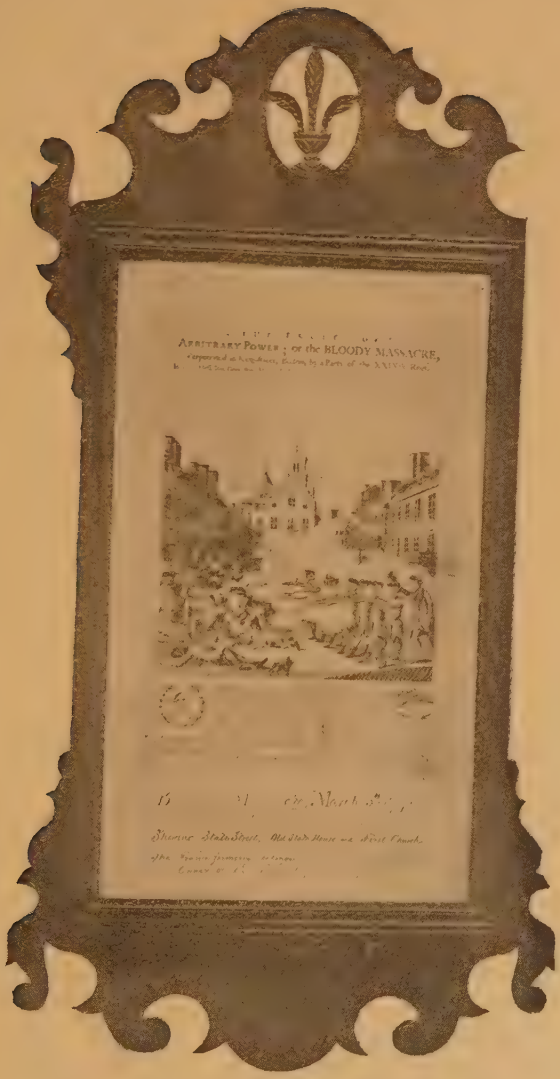
[1] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1874. p. 200.

BOSTON." It was a large, folded plate, issued in the "Short Narrative" by the Town, and printed by Edes & Gill. There are but few of the original engravings in existence. The Bostonian Society has one hanging up on its walls which has been hand-colored.[1]

This engraving was reproduced in London in at least three editions. The Bostonian Society has a copy of one of them, loaned by Dwight Whiting, Esq., which has the following heading: "The Fruits of | Arbitrary Power; or the Bloody Massacre, | Perpetrated in King-street, Boston, by a Party of the XXIXth Regt." On the left side of the poetry beneath is a death's head and cross-bones, surrounded by a wreath, and beneath it the text: "How long shall they utter and speak hard things? and all the workers of iniqùity boast themselves? They break in pieces thy people, O Lord,

[1] Upon the back of this print appears the following memorandum: "Given in 1825 to Josiah Quincy, Jr., (1772–1864) by his aunt Mrs. Storer, sister of Josiah Quiney, Jr., who defended Captain Preston."


HALL
Engrav'd Printed & Sold by PAUL



ENGLISH REPRODUCTION OF BOSTON MASSACRE.

and afflict thine heritage." — Ps. xciv, 4, 5. On the other side the design has two broken swords and beneath this text: "They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless. Yet they say, The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." — Ps. xciv, 6, 7. The frame in which this engraving hangs formerly belonged to Francis Rotch, owner of the famous tea-ships of December, 1773.

The stanzas on the bottom of the plate, written by Revere, are as follows:

"Unhappy BOSTON! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallowed Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore:
While faithless P — n and his savage Bands,
With murd'rous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

"If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wrung,
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these,

The Patriots' copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

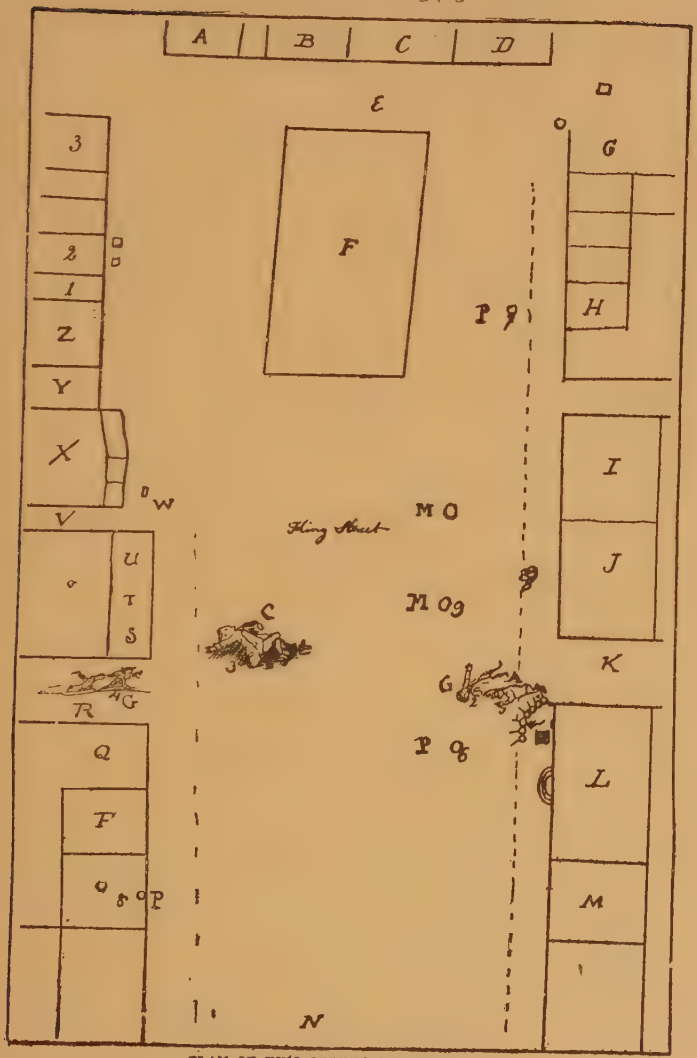
"But know, FATE summons to that sordid Goal
Where JUSTICE strips the Murd'rer of his Soul.
Should venal C — ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villian from her Hand,
Keen Execrations on this Plate inscrib'd,
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd."

"The unhappy Sufferers were Messrs SAM^L GRAY, SAM^L MAVERICK, JAM^S CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT^K CARR, killed. Six wounded two of them (CHRIST^R MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally."

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, late Librarian of Boston Public Library, has in his possession Revere's pen-and-ink plan of the scene of the massacre, which was used in the trial of the British soldiers. It shows the position of the troops when they fired, of the citizens who fell, the topography of the scene, the streets and houses surrounding the Old State House, in a very excellent manner. This has been reproduced in Mr.

REVERE'S PEN AND INK PLAN OF MASSACRE.

For Key see following page.



PLAN OF KING STREET AND VICINITY.

The plan on preceding page is a reduction from the original in possession of Judge Chamberlain. The key is copied from *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. 6, p. 47. A, Doct^r^ Jones; B, Doct^r^ Roberts; C, Brigdeus, goldsmith; D, John Nazro, store; E, Main Street; F, Town House; G, Brazen Head; H, Benj. Kent, Esq., house; I, Mrs. Clapham; J, Exchange Tavern; K, Exchange Lane; L, Custom House; M, Col. Marshall's house; N, "N. B. The pricked line is the Gutter;" O, Mr. Paine's house; P, Mr. Davis's house; Q, Mr. Amory's house; R, Quaker Lane; S, Warden and Vernon's shop; T, Levi Jening, shop; U, Mr. Peck, wa[t]ch maker, shop; V, Court Square; W, whipping-post; X, J. & D. Waldo, shop; Y, Pudin Lane; Z, G. C. Phillips, house; 1, Ezk. Prince, Esq., office; 2, Guard House; 3, Mr. Bowse, shop. The key to the letters in the streets, which was a part of the original drawing, is lost.

Chamberlain's chapter, "The Revolution Impending," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. VI., chapter I., a fac-simile of which is here given.

Among the family papers are several of Revere's Day-books, Ledgers, and Letter-books. The items in one of the Day-books extend from "Boston, N: England 1761 Jany 3^{d}" to October 10, 1783, with a break from April 1, 1775, to December 19, 1779, during which time he was engaged in various services; the largest part of the time in the military. The first charge is to James Graham, "To a free mason's Medall 13|4." Part of one of the pages of this Day-book is reproduced on page 77.

Under date of March 9, 1770, four days after the Boston Massacre, the following charge appears on the Day-book:

Messrs. Edes & Gill	Dr:		
To Engraving 5 Coffings for Massacre			6
To Printing 200 Impressions of Massacre		5	0

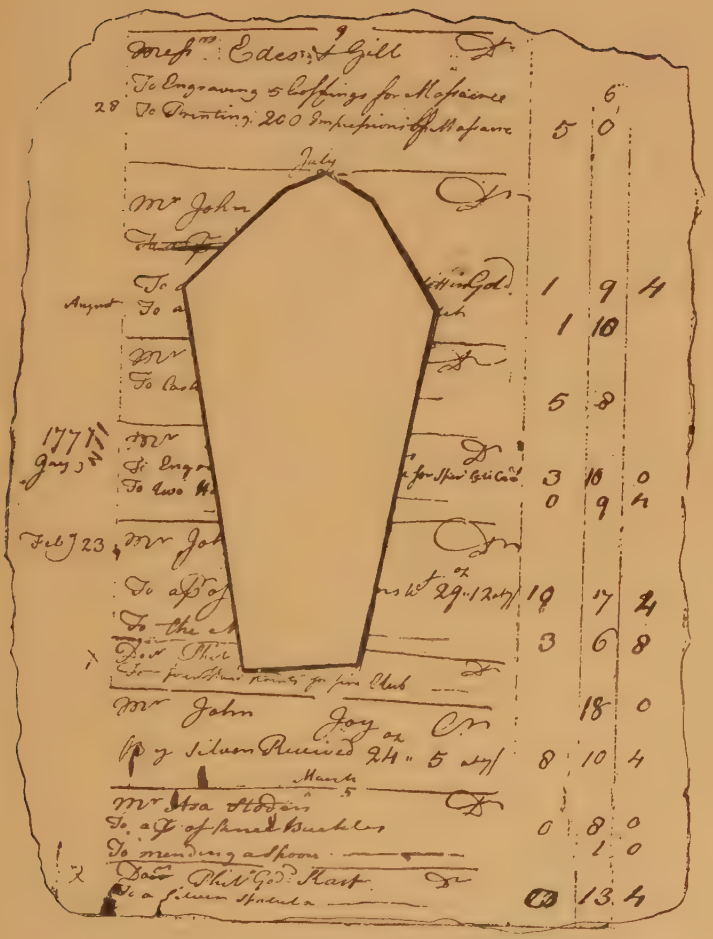
This was for the purpose of illustrating the account of the Massacre given in the

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, published by them, under date of Monday, March 12, 1770. On this page of the Day-book is pinned a paper pattern of a coffin, as shown in the fac-simile.

Another of his engravings gives a view of one of the old fortifications which was begun "att Walter Merry's Point," — now

THE NORTH BATTERY.

known as Battery Wharf, — as early as 1644. This was always an important and commanding position. When the British evacuated



PART OF PAGE FROM REVERE'S DAY BOOK.

Boston, in March, 1776, it had seven twelve-pounders, two nine-pounders, and four six-pounders, all rendered unfit for use. Soon after the Revolution, this point was sold and used for commercial purposes. Revere's illustration, the original copper-plate of which is now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, formed the heading for a certificate of membership for an enlisted "Montross," or "Matross," an English term for a soldier in a train of artillery, who served next to the gunners; assisting them in loading, firing and sponging the guns. They carried firelocks and marched with the store-wagons as guards and assistants.

His representations of Boston, of which there are three different copper-plate engravings, like his "Boston Massacre," possess peculiar historical interest. Beside the view of town and harbor, each one depicts the advent of the famous 14th and 29th Regiments of British Troops, afterwards known as the "Sam Adams Regiments." The first one was issued in 1770,

and is from a plate 15 by 10 inches.[1] Its title is in a scroll across the top of the plate: "A VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND AND BRITTISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS! 1768." This shows only that part of Boston beginning with the "Old Brick Church" and thence to the "North Battery." It shows the steeples of seven churches, Faneuil Hall and the Old State House. On the right-hand lower corner is the following dedication: "To the Earl of Hillsborough, His Majest^{s} Scr^{y} of State for America THIS VIEW of the only well Plan'd EXPEDITION formed for supporting ye dignity of BRITAIN & chastizing ye insolence of AMERICA, is hum^{y} inscrib'd." The explanation of the names of

[1] "Just Published and to be Sold by Paul Revere, Opposite Dr. Clark's at the North-End, and by the Printers hereof, a Copper-Plate Print, containing a View of Part of the Town of Boston in New England, and British Ships of War landing their Troops in the Year 1768. Dedicated to the Earl of Hillsborough."— *The Boston Gazette and County Journal*, Monday, April 16, 1770.

A VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND AND BRITISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS 1768.
Engraved Printed & Sold by Pelh. Revere Boston.

VIEW OF BOSTON, LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS IN 1768.

the vessels which appear in the foreground is as follows: "1 Beaver 2 Senegal 3 Martin 4 Glasgow 5 Mermaid 6 Romney 7 Launceston 8 Bonetta. On fryday Septr. 30th. 1768, the Ships of WAR, armed Schooners, Transports, &c., Came up the Harbour and Anchored round the TOWN: their Cannon loaded, a Spring on their Cables, as for a regular Siege. At noon on Saturday, October the 1st the fourteenth & twenty-ninth Regiments, a detachment from the 59th Reg^{t}. and a Train of Artillery, with two pieces of Cannon, landed on the Long Wharf; there Formed and Marched with insolent Parade, Drums beating, Fifes playing and Colours flying, up KING STREET, Each Soldier having received 16 rounds of Powder and Ball." The imprint is: "ENGRAVED, PRINTED & SOLD by PAUL REVERE, BOSTON." [1]

[1] An original copy of this view, which has been hand-colored, hangs on the walls of the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House. It belongs to Hon. Samuel Abbott Green. The plate is in the office of the Secretary of State, at the State House; it was utilized in 1775, by engraving on the other side, the plate for some of the Provincial money then issued.

The second view was engraved for "Edes and Gill's North American Almanack and Massachusetts Register for the Year 1770." Its title is: "Prospective View of the Town of Boston, the Capital of New England; and the Landing of Troops in the year 1768, in Consequence of Letters from Gov. Bernard, the Commissioners, &c., to the British Ministry." This plate was 3 by 5¼ inches in size. Besides Faneuil Hall and the Old State House, eleven steeples of churches appear in this illustration. Its imprint is simply "P. Revere." The explanation accompanying it is: "1, the Beaver, 14 guns; 2, the Senegal, 14; 3, the Martin, 10; 4, the Glasgow, 20; 5, Mermaid, 28; 6, Romney, 50; 7, Launceston, 40; 8, Bonetta, 10." [1]

The third view was engraved for the first number of the *Royal American Magazine*, January, 1774, which he entitled, "A View of the Town of Boston, with several Ships of War in the Harbour," in a scroll across

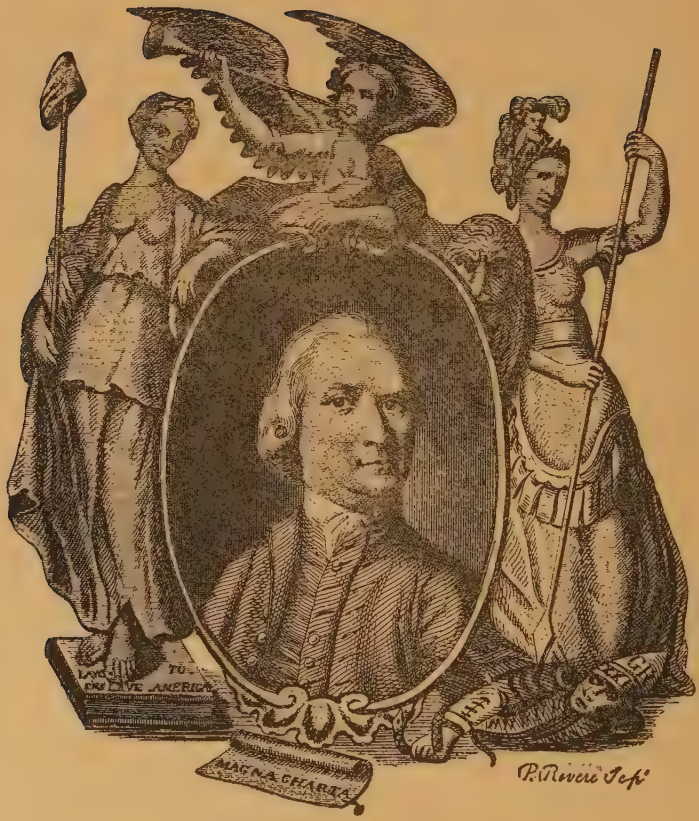
[1] On the same page of Day-book, part of which is given in fac-simile on a previous page, under date of January 10, 1770, is a charge to Edes & Gill "To Engraving plate for Almanack £2. 8. 0."

the top of the plate. This view takes in Fort Hill and the southerly part of the town, and shows eleven steeples of churches, besides Faneuil Hall and the Old State House, and has no imprint. On the last page of the magazine there is given this explanation: "A, Long Wharf; B, Hancock's Wharf; C, North Battery; D, South Battery; E, Fort Hill; F, Wheelwright's Wharf; G, Beacon Hill; H, Hubbard's Wharf; I, Halloway's Ship-Yard; K, Walker's Ship-Yard; L, Tyler's Ship-Yard; M, N, Island Wharfs; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & 8, Ships of War; 9 and 10, Armed Schooners."

The *Royal American Magazine*, a "Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement," in which this view of Boston appeared, was the last magazine established previous to the Revolution. Its first number, January, 1774, bore this imprint: "America. | Boston. Printed and Sold at Greenleaf's Printing Office | in Union-street, near the Conduit, where subscriptions continue to be taken in." It was published for six months, and then suspended; but Joseph

Greenleaf revived and continued it until the following April, when "the war put a period to the magazine." It is interesting to compare a number of this magazine, with its thin paper, small page, old-fashioned type, rough engravings, and general make-up, with one of the issues of Harper's *New Monthly*, the *Century* or the *Magazine of American History*. The contrast is a striking one. Each number was embellished with two copper-plate engravings, most of which were designed and engraved as indicated by the imprint, "Paul Revere, Sculp." Some were crude, but most of them have a historical value. He produced, for the magazine, several portraits of historic personages. In the first April number was "The Bust of Mr. Samuel Adams," evidently taken from the Copley painting then in John Hancock's house. It does not reproduce the majestic character of the work of that eminent painter, but it is sufficiently good to "show the determined energy and resolute bearing of the original."[1] In a later number appeared

[1] Mr. Samuel G. Drake, in his *History of Boston*, thus



Saml Adams.

The Hon.ble JOHN HANCOCK. Esqr.

"The Bust of Hon. John Hancock, Esq., supported by the Goddess of Liberty and an Ancient Briton."

He also engraved a portrait which was called "Colonel Benjamin Church;" but Dr. Charles Deane, in *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1881-2, p. 245, proves it to have been copied from a portrait of "Mr. C. Churchill" the poet. Besides these portraits and the view of Boston, there appeared in this magazine, "The Thunder Storm, an effective historical Piece,

describes this portrait: "There are many engraved likenesses of Samuel Adams. The earliest is believed to be that upon copper 'done' for *Royal American Magazine* by the patriotic Paul Revere, and accompanying the April number, of 1774, of that work. The head is surrounded by devices emblematical of the state of the times. Above it is an angel with wings displayed, sounding a trumpet; below is a scroll, inscribed MAGNA CHARTA. On the right, a female stands upon a large volume as a pedestal, which volume is inscribed, LAWS TO ENSLAVE AMERICA. In the right hand of the female figure is a rod, on which is elevated the Cap of Liberty, while her left arm rests upon the portrait. In her countenance is discovered an expression of security, and her breast is bared in defiance. On the left is a corresponding figure representing Wisdom, the pedestal of which is the prostrate Pope, with but one arm visible, in the hand of which is grasped a hissing serpent."

very neatly engraved;" "Sir Wilbraham Wentworth," illustrating the story of "Justice and Generosity, or the remarkable History of Sir Wilbraham Wentworth;" "The Able Doctor, or America swallowing the Bitter Draught;" "Spanish treatment at Carthagena," illustrating an article on "The Barbarity of the Spaniards:" "The Dancing Bishops: The Mitred Minuet;" "The Gerbua, or Russian Rabbit;" "Mademoiselle Clarion, with an elegant Engraving of her in an acting posture and habit, &c.;" "A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and Colonel Bouquet, in the year 1764;"[1] "History of Lauretta;" and in the last number, March, 1775, "America in Distress."[2]

Possibly some of the other engravings bearing no imprint were by Revere, also, as

[1] This was copied from Benjamin West's picture, which is reproduced in Dr. William F. Poole's chapter, "The West," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol VI., p. 695.

[2] The last charge he made in his Day-book in 1775, was for this plate as follows

April 1, 1775. Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr
To engraving plate for March Mage 3 | 0 | 0

Right my Lord Republicks
of that kind! soon hoft engaged
She must loft more Blood.
Petitions are Rebellious.
Sowre Her manners if
we till over with Us.
She is Mad & must be Chained!
They will ruin her Constitution
This is the proper time for such
a Physician.
Poor America!
Petition of all England &
America against
evil Physicians or
corrupt Members & wicked
Councellors.

America in Distress.

they have characteristics of his work, notably "The Method of Refining Salt Petre."

He engraved a bill-head for "Cromwell's Head," a famous tavern on School Street,

TOP OF BILL-HEAD, CROMWELL'S HEAD INN.

which was standing until 1888. This has a portrait of Cromwell, with this lettering in the scroll-work: "Joshua Brackett, Cromwell's Head, School Street, Boston, P. Revere Sc." At this inn Washington was entertained in

1756, and the Marquis Chastellux in 1782. "The sign of this hostelry was the effigy of the Lord Protector Cromwell, and, it is said, hung so low that all who passed were compelled to make an involuntary reverence," says Drake, in *Old Landmarks of Boston*, p. 61. Mr. Drake owns a copy of this rare engraving.[1] It is a bill duly made out for "Board, Liquor, Horse-keeping and Oats," in £. s. d., but no name of guest appears. According to the old custom, it is receipted on the back: "Jos[a] Brackett," and filed as "Paid Nov. 1771."

In 1774, an edition, in two volumes, of "A New Voyage Round the World, In the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; Undertaken by Order of his present Majesty, Performed By Captain James Cooke," was issued in New York, "Printed by James Rivington, 1774," who was called "the King's Printer," and was illustrated by Revere. It has a map, and an illustration

[1] The cut on the preceding page is reproduced from the only other known copy, which belongs to James L. Little, Jr., of Brookline, Mass.

Dramatic Interlude & Dance given by the Indians of Ulietea performed by two Women & Six Men with three Drums

A New Zealand Warrior
in his proper Dress and
compleatly Armed
Two Natives of New
Holland Advancing
to Combat

"To front the title of Cooks Voyages" in each volume. One is entitled a "Dramatic Interlude & Dance given by the Indians of Ulietea performed by two Women & Six Men with three Drums," the other, in two sections, "A New Zealand Warriour in his proper Dress and compleately Armed," and "Two Nations of New Holland Advancing to Combat." Only the first has Revere's imprint; and this is one of the best of his engravings.[1]

The familiar, oft-used cut of "Philip, King of Mount Hope," was engraved by Revere.

The copper plate upon which his Harvard College was engraved was afterwards cut in halves. Only one part, the left, is in existence, and that is at the State House. Revere utilized the other side of this, as he did most of his copper plates, for printing the Provincial

[1] The only copy of this work I have seen belongs to Dr. David Hunt of Boston. It has the names of over seven hundred subscribers, resident in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Connecticut, Quebec, Dominica, Antigua, Jamaica, and the "Great Nine Partners," which has twenty-three.

money in 1775. It has three sizes on it; six, fourteen, and twenty shilling pieces. The only complete view of the College belongs to the Essex Institute of Salem, who

DAVID GREEN'S BOOK-PLATE.

kindly allowed this copy to be taken. There are several of the half-plate engravings to be found.

He engraved several book-plates. Mr.

REVERE'S VIEW OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

Richard C. Lichtenstein, of Boston, has a collection of over three thousand, and of these Revere engraved three: Gardiner Chandler, William Wetmore, and David Green. Doubtless there are others by him, but they are not known. The above are somewhat rare and considered valuable by collectors. The Wetmore was reproduced in the *Book Buyer* for March, 1886, in a series of articles on "Some American Book-Plates," by Laurence Hutton.

Without doubt he designed and engraved the original of "the chaste and time-honored" seal of Phillips Academy, Andover, which was the gift of John Lowell and Oliver Wendell, grandfather of Oliver Wendell Holmes.[1]

As there were only about a half dozen copper-plate engravers in

[1] Rev. F. B. Makepeace, in *New England Magazine*, for April, 1886, and letter of Prof. J. Wesley Churchill, of Andover, by whose kindness this cut is used.

the country in the pre-revolutionary days, he undoubtedly made many other engravings of various kinds, which have been lost sight of.[1]

Edward D. Harris, of Yonkers, N. Y., owns a well-executed book-plate, which has the same general heraldic delineations as those of the Revere coat-of-arms. It is without the motto, but has the name beneath "Paul Rivoire." Mr. Harris thinks it was engraved in England, and it was probably obtained by the senior Paul, before changing his name.

[1] These engravers were Nathaniel Hurd, Benjamin Hurd, Thomas Johnson and a Mr. Turner, of Boston, Amos Doolittle of New Haven, and a Mrs. Dawkins of Philadelphia; perhaps one or two more.

The BOSTONIAN'S Paying the EXCISE-MAN, or TARRING & FEATHERING

ANTE-REVOLUTIONARY SERVICES.

CHAPTER IV.

ANTE-REVOLUTIONARY SERVICES.

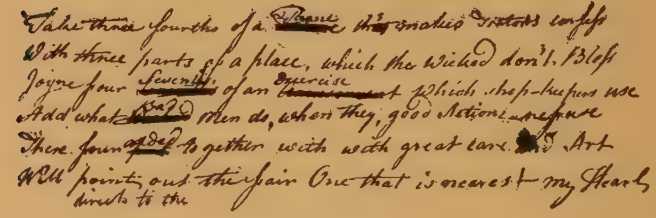
Death of his Wife — Names of Children — A Love Ditty — Marries Rachel Walker — The Sons of Liberty — The Boston Caucuses — The Patriot Mercury — Destruction of the Tea — Thomas Newell's Diary — John Adams' Letter — Ride to New York and Philadelphia — His Letter to Lamb — The Boston Port Bill — His Second Ride on Special Service — New York Sons of Liberty — Revere and Ludlow's Meeting — Another Letter to Lamb — His Port-Bill Illustration — Declines to Serve on Grand Jury — Is on Continental Congress Resolutions Committee.

ON the 3d of May, 1773, Revere's wife, Sarah, died. They had been married sixteen years, and had a family of eight children, as follows:

Deborah,	born	April	3,	1758;	died	January	3,	1797.
Paul,	"	January	6,	1760;	"	"	16,	1813.
Sarah,	"	"	3,	1762;	"	July	5,	1791.
Mary,	"	March	31,	1764;	"	April	30,	1765.
Frances,	"	February	19,	1766;	"	June	9,	1799.
Mary,	"	March	19,	1768;	"	August	—,	1853.
Elizabeth,	"	December	5,	1770;	"	[date unknown.]		
Hannah,	"	"	15,	1772;	"	Sept.	19,	1773.

These children were baptized in the "New Brick Church," within a very few days after their birth.

The North Square home was not long without a mistress. "After a few months, his household being in sore need of a mother's care, he married again an excellent and charming woman, Rachel Walker."[1]



A Love Ditty.

The above is a reduced fac-simile of a poetic effusion which Revere penned on the back of a bill, "Mr. Benjamin Greene To Paul Revere Dr.," for "Gold buttons," "Mending a Spoon," and "two p^r^ of Silver Shoe Buckles," amounting to £24, 15, 0,

[1] *Memorial of Paul Joseph and Edward H. R. Revere*, p. 7. Paul and Edward were grandsons of Paul, and were both killed in the war of the Rebellion, 1861–5; the one at Gettysburg, and the other at Antietam.

Yours P. Revere

and which was found among the leaves of one of his day-books. The interpretation is as follows:

"Take three fourths of a Paine that makes
Traitors confess [RAC]
With three parts of a place which the
Wicked don't Bless [HEL]
Joyne four sevenths of an Exercise which
shop-keepers use [WALK]
Add what Bad Men do, when they good
actions refuse [ER.]
These four added together with great care and
Art
Will point out the (direct to the) Fair One that
is nearest my Heart."

Miss Walker was born in Boston, December 27, 1745. They were married October 10, 1773, by Rev. Samuel Mather.

Not long after his second marriage Revere entered the public service in a capacity which afterwards justly entitled him to be called "The Messenger of the Revolution;" for, although others acted as couriers, to him seems to have been intrusted the most important messages by Warren,

Hancock, Adams and others, for several years previous to, and during the earlier part of, our Revolutionary struggle. So eminent were his services in this respect that he has been styled the "patriot Mercury."[1] He was one of the first of the famous "Sons of Liberty," who began their active work at the time of the passage of the "Stamp Act," in 1765, by intimidating the stamp-distributors, and opposing the enforcement of the act in every possible way. This organization was composed mostly of young men, loving excitement, but thoroughly patriotic. In the process of time they became the most radical leaders in the troubles with the mother country, and promoters of the War for Independence. They were organized in nearly all the Colonies, and their members became distinguished actors on the field and in the civic councils.[2]

[1] Prof. James K. Hosmer, in *Samuel Adams*, p. 272, who also called him "the centaur;" and, alluding to his services in connection with the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1788, says: "Paul Revere, whose attributes, as he goes on in life, become rather those of Vulcan than Mercury."

[2] Concerning these co-patriots and their meetings for con-

Mr. James Kimball, in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. 12, p. 204, says: "The 'Sons of Liberty' were a secret society; not even a roll of members has ever come to light. It had its secret language of recognition, by which they were able to protect themselves from impostors or informers, and they were bound together in defence of 'Equality before the Law;'" and he quotes the following from a manuscript in his possession, written by Col. John Russell, in 1850, whose father was one of

ference, the venerable George B. Proctor, of South Boston, relates the story that his grandmother Burroughs used to tell him. They often met in a certain room of a tavern kept by her husband, about the year 1770. As the object of these meetings was a mystery to her, she resolved to secrete herself in a closet of this room and listen. This she did, and from her hiding-place heard the discussions. The subject of debate was the existing and growing troubles between the colony and the mother country. None of them, Hancock, Warren, Revere and others, had any idea of rebelling, or separating, except Sam Adams. He was the only one that advocated open resistance; his voice was always raised for independence; all others were for adjusting their grievances in some other way. For very interesting evidence on this subject, "Did the American Colonies desire Independence?" see the letters of John Jay and John Adams, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1876.

the "Sons," and an active participator in those stirring scenes, and a schoolmaster living on Temple Street, Boston: "The Sons of Liberty consisted of an association of spirited men, who were determined to resist the oppressive edicts of the British Ministry, and to sustain and support each other in their efforts to rescue the town and country from the thraldom of tyrannic power. On public occasions each member wore suspended from his neck a medal, on one side of which was the figure of a stalwart arm, grasping in its hand a pole surmounted with a Cap of Liberty, and surrounded by the words 'Sons of Liberty.' On the reverse was the emblem of the Liberty Tree. One of these medals I once had in my possession, with the initials of my father's name, W. R., engraved thereon, but it was many years ago irrecoverably lost." And Isaac Q. Leake, in his *Life and Times of General John Lamb*, p. 2, says: "These were the men who banded themselves together at the first encroachments of the mother country, under the designation of associated SONS OF LIBERTY; and

whose boldness and constancy drove the ministerial party to abandon their attempts and to mask their resolved purposes under measures less palpable to the general perception."

On the 14th of August, 1769, the anniversary of the enforced resignation of the stamp-distributor, about three hundred of these "Sons of Liberty" dined at "Liberty Tree," Dorchester. Among these were Dr. Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, the Otises, James Bowdoin, Paul Revere, the Quincys, and many others, who were afterwards more or less prominent in the history of our country.[1]

For some years before the Revolution there were many clubs and caucuses in Boston, besides the "Sons of Liberty." Their proceedings, also, were generally secret. Resolutions were adopted; men selected to be supported for public office; and many

[1] A complete list of these "Sons of Liberty" is given in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for August, 1869, p. 140.

weighty matters discussed, and courses of action decided upon. The membership was composed largely of mechanics and traders.[1] There was the "North End Caucus," the "South End Caucus" and the "Middle District Caucus·" besides these there was the "Long Room Club:" all "owning allegiance to the 'Sons of Liberty.'" In two of these, at least, Revere was a member: the "Long Room Club" and the "North End Caucus. In their councils he took an active part, thus helping to shape the actions of these co-patriots, which had so important an influence in the Revolutionary War.

The most important and most noted, perhaps, of these clubs, was the "North End Caucus." To this belonged Warren, Samuel Adams, — "with the inspiration of his

[1] Boston was literally full of clubs and caucuses, which were used with great effect to secure unity of action. Here town politics were freely talked over, and political measures were determined upon. . . . They were rather societies than public meetings as understood by this term at the present time. — *History of the Siege of Boston*, by Richard Frothingham, p. 29.

fiery zeal and his incontrovertible logic," — John Adams, Church, Young, Edes and other noted men. It was organized as early as 1767, but there are no records earlier than March 23, 1772. In that year it met in the Salutation Tavern,[1] kept by William Campbell, on Salutation Alley, — now Salutation Street, — corner of Ship, now North, Street. "Here they organized their caucus which proved such an annoyance to the royalists, and paved the way for the united action of the patriots in the Revolutionary movement."[2]

This caucus also met in the Green Dragon Tavern a portion of the time. Its records from March 23, 1772, to May 9, 1774, have been preserved, together with a list of its members. These records clearly show where and how some of the important acts that took place originated;

[1] So named from a sign of much elegance, which represented two gentlemen dressed in most fashionable attire, small clothes and cocked hats, in the act of shaking hands.

[2] Rev. Edward G. Porter in *Rambles in Old Boston*, p. 272.

particularly that concerning the destruction of the tea.[1]

As a messenger between the Provincial and Continental Congresses, from one Colony to another, and in many other ways, Revere's services were called into requisition on many occasions.[2] He travelled thousands of miles on horseback, during troublous times, when railroads and steamboats were unknown. During all these years he had a large family dependent upon him: yet he was so constituted as to find sufficient leisure to interest himself with all the matters pertaining to the public good, watching closely the course of political events in these pre-revolutionary days.

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] Frothingham says, while enumerating the different "Boston Patriots:" "Paul Revere, an ingenious goldsmith, as able to engrave a lampoon as to rally a caucus, was the ready confidential messenger of the patriots and the great leader of the mechanics." (*Siege of Boston*, p. 23.) And Dr. Benson J. Lossing, in his *History of the United States*, thus refers to him: "Like those of Isaac Sears of New York, his eminent services in the cause of freedom have been overlooked. Their fame is eclipsed by men of greater minds, but of no sturdier patriotism."

"With well-considered, settled opinions, his will was strong; while his general gifts rendered him competent to great emergencies, and equal to great events. The result was, that in a crisis like that of rousing the people to conflict on the eve of the first struggle for our Independence, he was the wise counsellor at home, and the daring actor in the field."[1]

His first important ride as messenger was in connection with the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor. With the history of that fateful event he is very closely connected. The ship "Dartmouth," with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, arrived at Boston, on Sunday, November 28, 1773. This caused great excitement, and the next day the following broadside was issued:

"FRIENDS! BRETHREN! COUNTRYMEN!

"That worst of Plagues, the detested TEA, shipped for this Port by the East

[1] *Memorial of Paul Joseph and Edward H. R. Revere*, p. 7.

India Company, is now arrived in this Harbour. The Hour of Destruction or manly Opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny, stares you in the Face; every Friend to this Country, to himself and to Posterity, is now called upon to meet at FANEUIL HALL, at NINE o'clock

"THIS DAY,

(at which Time the Bells will ring), to make a united and successful Resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive Measure of Administration.

"Boston, November 29, 1773."

Soon after, two other vessels, — the ship "Eleanor" and brig "Beaver," — also bringing tea, — arrived, and all three vessels were moored at Griffin's, now Liverpool, Wharf.

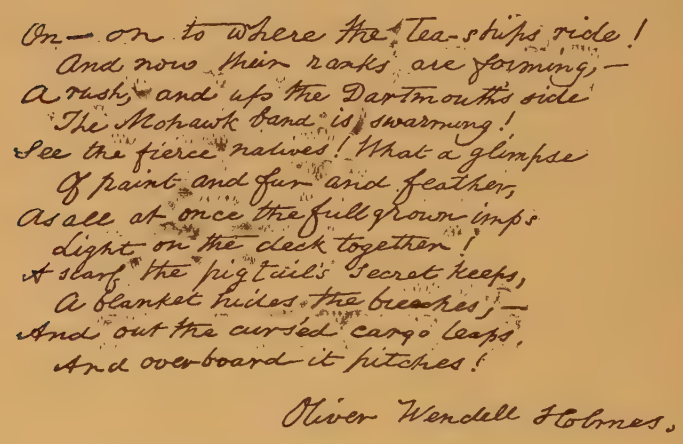
In accordance with the above notice, on Monday, November 29, meetings were held, first at Faneuil Hall, and then in the Old South Meeting-house, in which Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Dr. Thomas Young and others took part. Adams' resolution, "that the tea should not be landed;

that it should be sent back in the same bottom to the place whence it came, at all events, and that no duty should be paid on it," was unanimously adopted. A guard of twenty-five men was appointed to see that the tea was not landed. The names of those only who served the first two nights have been preserved.[1] In the first night's guard, under command of Capt. Edward Proctor, appears the name of Paul Revere. Doubtless he served also on some of the remaining nights. John Hancock, Samuel Adams and Henry Knox were among the volunteers.

The destruction of this tea was not only discussed and resolved upon by the "North End Caucus," but it interfered with the councils of the Masonic body, of which Revere was also a member, as is evidenced by the records of Saint Andrew's Lodge,

[1] These are given in *Tea Leaves. Being a Collection of Letters and Documents relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company. With an Introduction, Notes, and Biographical Notices of the Boston Tea Party*, by Francis S. Drake, p. 46.

which owned and met in the Green Dragon Tavern. On the day the tea arrived the record is: "Lodge adjourned on account


On — on to where the tea-ships ride!
And now their ranks are forming, —
A rush, and up the Dartmouth's side
The Mohawk band is swarming!
See the fierce natives! What a glimpse
Of paint and fur and feather,
As all at once the full-grown imps
Light on the deck together!
A slang the pigtail's secret keeps,
A blanket hides the breeches, —
And out the cursed cargo leaps,
And overboard it pitches!
Oliver Wendell Holmes.

FROM "A BALLAD OF THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY."

of the few Brothers present. N. B. Consignees of Tea took the Brethren's time." And on December 16, the day the tea was thrown overboard: "Lodge closed on account of the few members in attendance, until to-morrow evening." Most of the prominent Masons were members of the

Abrant Kanakaratophqua

Chief Sachem of the Mohawks,

King of the Six Nations, and

Lord of all their Castles, &c. &c. &c.

To all our Liege Subjects — Health.

Whereas Tea is an Indian Plant, and of right belongs to the Indians of every Land & Tribe: and Whereas our good Allies the English, have in lieu of it, given us that pernicious Liquor RUM, which they have pour'd down our Throats, to Steal away our Brains, and Whereas the English have learn'd the most expeditious Way, or Method, of drawing an Infusion of said Tea, without the Expence of Wood, or Trouble of Fire to the Benefit and Emolument of the East India Trade as vastly greater Quantities may be expended by this Method, than by that heretofore practiced in this Country, and therefore help to

Support the East India Company under their present Melancholly Circumstances—

We do of our certain Knowledge, Special Grace, and Meer Motion, permit and allow any of our Liege Subjects to barter for, buy, or procure of any of our Said English Allies, Teas of any kind: Provided always, each Man purchases not less than Ten, nor more than One hundred and fourteen Boxes, at a Time, and those the property of the East India Company, and provided also that they pour all the Said Tea into the Lakes, Rivers and ponds, that while our Subjects in their Hunting instead of Slaking their Thirst with Cold Water, as usual, may do it with Tea.

Of all which our Subjects will take Notice, and govern themselves accordingly— By Command

1st Moon 1774

Toniteroque.

THE MOHAWK TEA PROCLAMATION

different clubs, of the "Sons of Liberty," and of this "tea-party."[1]

On the evening of the 16th of December, after Samuel Adams, in the excited gathering in the "Old South," had pronounced the fatal words: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country," and some one in the gallery had cried out: "Boston Harbor a tea-pot to-night! Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" a band of men, several

[1] The *Centennial Memorial of Saint Andrew's Lodge*, a handsomely executed volume, says that the tradition of the Lodge is: "that all the preliminary measures in this affair were matured at the Green Dragon, and that the execution of them was committed mainly to the members of the North End Caucus, — that stalwart and fearless band of North End mechanics, whose directing genius was Warren, — having the co-operation of the more daring of the 'Sons of Liberty.' That Warren was present as a leader in the affair, does not admit of any serious doubt; nor is there any question that his personal friends, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Webb, Paul Revere, Thomas Melville, Adam Collson, Henry Purkett (who used modestly to say he was present only as a spectator, and in disobedience to the orders of his master, who was actively present), and other patriots of the day, were cognizant of it, — and some of whom at least are known to have participated in its final consummation. It was the first act in the great drama, the conclusion of which was the independence of the country."

of whom were disguised as Indians,[1] proceeded, in an orderly manner, to the wharf, boarded the vessels, and deliberately burst open, with hatchets and axes, three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and spilled their contents into the waters below. This tea was valued at £18,000. In this "tea-party," and one of its most active members, was Paul Revere.[2] The account of

[1] The following is a "Fragment of a Rallying Song of the Tea Party at the Green Dragon," sung at this time:

"Rally Mohawks! bring out your axes,
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
On his foreign tea;
His threats are vain, and vain to think
To force our girls and wives to drink
His vile Bohea!
Then rally boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon

"Our Warren's there, and bold Revere,
With hands to do, and words to cheer,
For liberty and laws;
Our country's "braves" and firm defenders
Shall ne'er be left by true North-Enders
Fighting Freedoms cause!
Then rally boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon."

"Paul Revere, that true American, one of those that planned and executed the most daring projects which characterized the times — the throwing over the tea in Boston harbor." (Marshall P. Wilder's Address before the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, January, 1872.) "An event," says another, "which has never yet been so copiously described nor so elaborately considered in its effects, as it de-

DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

1773. Decr. 17th last Night 3 Cargoes of Bohea
Tea were emptied into the Sea. This Morning a Man of War Sails. —

This is the most magnificent Movement of all. — There is a Dignity, a Majesty, a Sublimity, in this last Effort of the Patriots, that I greatly admire. The People should never rise, without doing Something to be remembered — Something notable And Striking. — This Destruction of the Tea is so bold so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences, and so lasting, that I count but consider it as an Epoch in History. —

This however is but an Attack upon Property, — another Similar Exertion of popular Power may produce the destruction of Lives. — Many Persons wish, that as many dead Carcasses were floating in the Harbour, as there are Chests of Tea! — a much less Number of Lives however would remove, the Causes of all our Calamities. —

The malicious Pleasure with which Hutchinson the Governor, the Consignees of ye Tea, and the officers of ye Customs, have stood and looked upon ye distresses of the People, and their Struggles to get ye Tea back to London, and at last ye destruction of it, is amazing. Tis hard to believe Persons so hardened and abandoned.

EXTRACT FROM DIARY OF JOHN ADAMS.

What Measures will the Ministry take, in Consequence of this? — will y resent it? will y Land resent it? will y punish us? how? by quartering Troops upon us? — by annulling our Charter? by laying on more duties! by restraining our Trade? by Sacrifice of Individuals, or how. —

The Question is whether y Destruction of this Tea was necessary? I apprehend it was absolutely and indispensably so. — The cd not send it back, the Governor Admiral and Collector & Comptroller wd not suffer it — It was in their Power to have seized it. — but in no other — It cd not get by y Castle, y Men of War &c. there there was no other Alternative but to destroy it or let it be landed — To let it be landed would be giving up the Principle of Taxation by Parliamentary Authority, against which y Continent have struggled for 10 years, it was loosing all our Labor for 10 years and subjecting ourselves & our Posterity forever to Egyptian Taskmasters — to Burthens, Indignities, to Ignominy and Contempt to Desolation and oppression to Poverty and Servitude. —

But it will be said it might have been left in the Case of a Committee of y Town, or in Castle William. To this many Objections may be made.

this transaction was drawn up by the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and on the next day, the 17th, sent to New York and Philadelphia, by Paul Revere, the bearer of dispatches. The letter to the New York "Sons of Liberty," dated Boston, December 17, 1773, said: "The bearer is chosen by the committee from a number of gentlemen, who volunteered to carry you this intelligence. We are in a perfect jubilee. Not a Tory in the whole community can find the least fault with our proceedings. . . . The spirit of the people throughout the country is to be described by no terms in my power. Their conduct last night surprised the admiral and English gentlemen, who observed that these were not a mob of disorderly rabble, (as they have been reported,) but men of sense, coolness and intrepidity.' Revere reached Philadelphia the day after Christmas. His return to Boston is thus

serves, by the philosophical historian." "This Destruction of the Tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid, & inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences, and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an Epocha in History." (Diary of John Adams, December 17, 1773.)

recorded in the diary of Mr. Thomas Newell, — printed in *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, for 1876–77*, — under date of December 28: "Last evening Mr. Paul Revere returned here from New York. (The news of the destruction of the tea here gave great satisfaction to all friends to liberty.) At York, Governor Tryon has engaged to send the tea-ships back to the place from whence they came. (Upon this news all the bells in town were rung this morning.)"

Messages concerning the destruction of this tea were sent in other directions also. Here is one copied from the autograph in Samuel Adams' papers, "the t's for the most part uncrossed, and punctuation neglected in the breathless haste in which it was written."[1]

"BOSTON, Dec. 17th, 1773.

"GENTLEMEN, — We inform you in great Haste that every chest of Tea on board the three Ships in this Town was destroyed

[1] *Samuel Adams*, by James K. Hosmer, p. 256.

the last evening without the least Injury to the Vessels or any other property. Our Enemies must acknowledge that these people have acted upon pure and upright Principle. the people at the Cape will we hope behave with propriety and as becomes men resolved to save their Country.

"To Plym°

"& to Sandwich with this addition

"We trust you will afford them Your immediate Assistance and Advice."

The allusion in the close of the note is to a fourth tea-ship which had been cast away on the Cape Cod shore.[1]

Of those who took part in this affair, so important in its result, Drake says, in his *Tea Leaves:* "But two of the recognized leaders of the people were there, — Dr. Young and Thomas Molineux. Most of them were mechanics and apprentices, but they were mechanics of the stamp of Revere, Howard, Wheeler, Crane and Peck, men who could restrain and keep in due subordina-

[1] *Samuel Adams*, p. 256.

tion the more fiery and dangerous element always present in popular demonstrations."

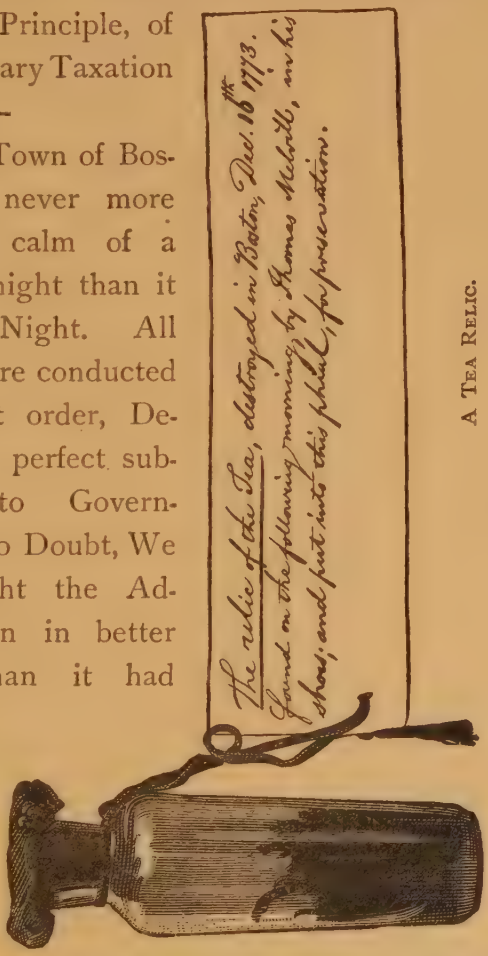
Concerning this momentous event, John Adams wrote to General James Warren of Plymouth, on the day after it took place, as follows:

"BOSTON, Dec. 17, 1773.

"D^R^ SIR, The Dye is cast! The People have passed the River and cutt away the Bridge! last Night Three Cargoes of Tea were emptied into the Harbour. This is the grandest Event which has ever yet happened Since the Controversy with Britain opened! The Sublimity of it, charms me! . . . Threats, Phantoms, Bugbears, by the million, will be invented and propagated among the People upon this Occasion — Individuals will be threatned with Suits and Prosecutions, Armies and Navies will be talked of, military Executions — Charters annull'd — Treason — Tryals in England and all that — But — these Terrors are all but Imaginations — Yet if they should become Realities they had better be suffered, than

the great Principle, of Parliamentary Taxation given up —

"The Town of Boston was never more still and calm of a Saturday night than it was last Night. All Things were conducted with great order, Decency and perfect submission to Government. — No Doubt, We all thought the Administration in better Hands than it had been." [1]


The relic of the Tea, destroyed in Boston, Dec. 16th 1773.
found in the following morning by Thomas Melvill, in his shoe; and put into this phial, for preservation.

A Tea Relic.

In the *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb*, Mr. Isaac Q. Leake

From a letter in possession of Winslow Warren, first published in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 16, 1871.

quotes from the following letter concerning the supplemental destruction of tea, which he says is not mentioned in any history that he had seen, saying: "Yet there can be no doubt that the event took place, as the writer of the letter was one of the most reliable of the eastern patriots, and undoubtedly concerned in the original transaction of 16th December."

"BOSTON, 28 March, 1774.

S^R^, Your favor of the 28 of Feby came safe to hand having observed the contents I am highly pleased with the plan, which the Bearer of your kind Epistile, has formed. He appears to me to be a sensible Gentleman, & well calculated to carry it into execution, I think it is one of the greatest strokes that our Enemies have mett with (except the late affairs of the Tea) since the Year 1768. Our Committe of Corrispondence like the plan much, and have done all in their power to fix it, and all our true sons highly approve off it, this day Mr Goddard setts off for the Eastward, our Com-

mitte have wrote to all the committes of correspondence between here & Falmouth stating the case and as soon as they hear from them if they adopt the plan (which no doubt but they will) measures will be taken to carry it imeaditly into Execution. You have no doubt heard the particulars relating to the last 28 Chest of Tea, it was disposed off in the same manner as I informed you of the Other. & should 500 more come, it will go the same way Yesterday a Vesell arrived here from Antigua the Capt. says your Tea Vessel was to sail 3 days after him, so that by the next Post I expect to hear a good account of it.

"Your Humble Servant

"(pray Excuse this scrawl PAUL REVERE." [1]

The plan referred to in this letter was an attempt to organize an independent mail establishment known as the "Post Office Scheme," by William Goddard, publisher of the *Maryland Journal*, of Balti-

[1] From the "Lamb Papers" in possession of the New York Historical Society.

Boston 28 March 1774

Sr

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say your Tea Vessel was to sail 3 days after him, so that by the next
Post I expect to hear a good Account of it Your Humble servant
(pray Excuse this scrawl Paul Revere

LETTER FROM REVERE TO JOHN LAMB.

more, and he was partially successful in his effort. John Holt was Postmaster of New York in 1775. Leake's *Life of John Lamb* gives some details of this scheme.

According to Mr. Leake, Lamb signalized the destruction of the tea in New York harbor, just as Revere did the "Stamp Act," "Boston Massacre," and other like historic events; he made an etching on copper illustrating that event, a copy of which was in his family for many years; now all traces of it are gone, and no other is known to exist.

Revere's next ride was in connection with the "Boston Port Bill,"[1] which became law by receiving the royal signature on the 31st of March, 1774, was printed in the Boston journals on the 10th of May following, and went into effect on the 1st of June.

The Committee of Correspondence im-

[1] Commonly so called; as passed by the British Parliament it was entitled: "An Act to discontinue, in such manner, and for such time, as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, the lading or shipping of goods, wares, merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay."

THE TEA-TAX TEMPEST, OR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

mediately directed Warren to call a meeting of representatives of Boston and the eight neighboring towns, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Newton, Cambridge, Charlestown, Lynn and Lexington, for the 12th of May, to deliberate "on the critical state of affairs." This meeting was held in Faneuil Hall and Samuel Adams presided. These representatives voted that it was their opinion that "if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain and every part of the West Indies till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression. We, therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world."

The next day a town-meeting was held with Samuel Adams as moderator, when decisive action was taken. The result of that meeting was drawn up by Adams, who accompanied his report with this appeal to

the other colonies, requesting them to unite with Massachusetts in this struggle: "The people receive the edict with indignation. It is expected by their enemies, and feared by some of their friends, that this town singly will not be able to support the cause under so severe a trial. As the very being of every colony, considered as a free people, depends upon the event, a thought so dishonorable to our brethren cannot be entertained as that this town will be left to struggle alone." Revere was entrusted with these messages to the sister colonies. He began his journey on the next day, the 14th,[1] and reached Philadelphia on the evening of the 20th; accomplishing his journey in a little less than six days. Newell's diary, before quoted, has this account of this transaction, under date of May 13: "Town meeting to consider proper measures to be

[1] At a town meeting held May 18, the Moderator, Samuel Adams, "informed the Inhabitants that agreeable to the Order of the Town he had enclosed an attested Copy of Town Votes in Letters to the several Provinces, by Mr Reviere, who set out last Saturday, & that he should forward Copies as Opportunities presented."

taken under our public affairs, more especially relative to the late edict of a British Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston, and annihilating the same. A committee was chosen to go to several towns. Mr. P. Revere was chosen to go express to New York and Philadelphia, &c. &c."

His arrival in New York with these important papers is thus chronicled: "At the first meeting of the Committee of Fifty One, the messenger from Boston to Philadelphia, Paul Revere, made his appearance, and delivered the official proceedings of the Boston town meeting, of the 13th May, urging concurrence on the part of New York."[1]

On the evening of his arrival at Philadelphia a meeting of citizens was held to consider "the execrable Port Bill," and it was unanimously resolved to make the cause of Boston their own. "While they recommended firmness, prudence, and moderation" to the inhabitants of Boston, they gave assurance "that the citizens of Philadelphia would continue to evince their firm

[1] *Life of John Lamb*, by Isaac Q. Leake, p. 88.

adherence to the cause of American Liberty." To show their earnestness of purpose, they then chose a committee of correspondence consisting of Rev. William Smith (who is now known to have drafted the reply to the Boston committee), Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Charles Thomson and others. "They transmitted," says the *Essex Gazette*, "by the hands of Paul Revere, to Boston, these sentiments of the people, and 'their resolution to stand by us to the last extremity.' They further advised, in a copy of their letter sent to New York and to the southern colonies, that the first step that ought to be taken was to call a GENERAL CONGRESS of all the Colonies."[1]

In due time Revere brought back to Boston the responses of the different colonies; and a letter to the *Essex Gazette*, dated Boston, May 30, 1774, said:

"On Saturday last, Mr. Paul Revere re-

[1] *Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, now known as "The Hall of Independence,"* by Frank M. Etting, p. 74.

turned from Philadelphia, having been sent express to the Southern Colonies, with intelligence of the late rash, impolitic and vindictive measures of the British Parliament, who, by the execrable Port Bill, have held out to us a most incontestable argument why we ought to submit to their jurisdiction; and what rich blessings we may secure to ourselves and posterity, by an acquiescence in their lenity, wisdom, and justice. Nothing can exceed the indignation with which our brethren in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Philadelphia have received this proof of ministerial madness. They universally declare their resolution to stand by us to the last extremity."[1]

When the "Sons of Liberty" of New York learned of the passage of the "Boston

[1] The following from the Revere papers pertains to this trip to Philadelphia:

1774 PAUL REVERE To DAVID WOOD Dr

May 28 To a Journey of My Horse to Kings Bridge New York 234 Miles at 3 | pr Mile £ 30. 2. 0 os

Boston, June 25 1774 Receivd the Contents £4. 0. 3 L money

DAVID WOOD

Port Bill" they held a meeting in Hampden Hall, at which they resolved to "stand by Boston in its hour of distress." These resolutions and a letter dated May 14th, in which the patriots of Boston were entreated to stand firm, were sent by express to Boston by John Ludlow, "who rode swiftly with them, on a black horse, toward the New England capital. He told their import as he coursed through Connecticut and Rhode Island. Near Providence, on the edge of a wood that was just receiving its summer foliage, by a cool spring, he met Paul Revere, riding express on a large gray horse, bearing to New York and Philadelphia assurances of the faith and firmness of the Bostonians, and to invoke sympathy and co-operation. Revere also carried a large number of printed copies of the act made sombre by heavy black lines, and garnished with the picture of a crown, a skull and cross-bones, undoubtedly engraved by Revere himself.[1] These he scattered through

[1] Over the skull was a rude resemblance of a crown, and beneath the bones that of the cap of Liberty, denoting that all was death and destruction between the crown and liberty.

the villages on his way, where they were carried about the streets with the cry of 'Barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder!' Revere and Ludlow took a hasty lunch together at the spring, and then pressed forward on their holy mission."[1]

That active patriot and "Son of Liberty," Dr. Thomas Young, wrote an account of the Boston meeting and action, to Mr. John Lamb, of New York, dated May 13, 1774, in which he says: "My worthy friend, Revere, again revisits you. No man of his rank and opportunities in life deserves better of the community. Steady, vigorous, sensible and persevering."

It was about this time that Gen. Gage came to the conclusion that the time for "conciliation, moderation, and reasoning" was over, and ordered cannon from the Common to the main entrance to the town of Boston. This order occasioned much alarm, and Revere wrote to Lamb as follows:

[1] *Our Country*, by Benson J. Lossing, p. 716.

"BOSTON Sep^tr 4 1774

"DEAR S^R, I embrace this oppertunity to inform you, that we are in Spirits, tho' in a Garrison; the Spirit of Liberty never was higher than at present; the Troops have the horrors amazingly, by reason of some late movements of our friends in the Country the week past, our new fangled Councellors are resigning theire places every Day; our Justices of the Courts, who now hold their Commissions during the pleasure of his Majesty, or the Governor, cannot git a Jury that will act with them, in short the Tories are giving way every where in our Province. The Bearrer of this, Mr. John Marston, is a Gentleman of my Aquaintance, a high Son of Liberty, & one that can give you a particular detail of our affairs, much better than I can write them. You will introduce him to your Friends as such. pray Give my best regards to your lady, Father & Sister, our Friends Messrs Bradford, Hughes, Mott & my good Friend Mr Drake & Family, particulerly to Capt Sears, for his kind care of my Horse & Sulky, and

The able Doctor or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught

all others of our acquaintance whose names I have forgot. a few lines from you when an opportunity presents, will be very agreeable. from your

"Humble Servant

"PAUL REVERE

"To Mr John Lamb.

"[Endorsed] Paul Riviere Boston, 4th Sept, 1774.

"Important"[1]

Revere's satire on the "Port Bill" appeared in the *Royal American Magazine* for June, 1774.

In August of this year (1774) his name appears, with twenty-one others, in a list of those who declined to serve as one of the grand jurors, at the Superior Court in Suffolk County. Four reasons for thus refusing to act were given. The first was: "Because Peter Oliver, Esq., who sits as Chief Judge of this Court, has been charged with high Crimes and misdemeanors by

[1] Copied from the original manuscript in possession of the New York Historical Society, by kindness of Jacob B. Moore, librarian.

the late hon^ble^ House of Representatives, the grand Inquest of this Province; of which charge he has never been legally acquitted, but has been declared by that House unqualified to act as Judge of this Court." The other reasons were based upon the passage of the acts of the British Parliament, news of which arrived the previous May.[1] One man only, Mr. Pratt, of Chelsea, hesitated; but he, when the chief justice told him it was unimportant whether the crown or the province paid the salaries, rejoined, "I wont sarve." This was the last grand jury under the crown.

The "Boston Port Bill" had been passed in retaliation for the destruction of the tea, and its effect was undoubtedly to more closely unite the colonies. "The Port Act," Bancroft says, "had been received on the 10th of May; and, in three weeks, the continent, as one great commonwealth, made the cause of Boston its own."[2] December 7,

[1] The whole document is printed in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for 1875–6, pp. 109, 110.

[2] *History of the United States*, vol 7, p. 55.

1774, at an adjourned "Port Bill Meeting," Revere was one of a committee of seven "to prepare & bring in a List of proper Persons, to serve as a Comittee, for carrying the Resolutions of the late Continental Congress into Execution," and Revere was put upon that committee.

HISTORIC FOOTPRINTS.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORIC FOOTPRINTS.

THE SUFFOLK RESOLVES — EXPRESS TO PHILADELPHIA — THE FAMOUS MANSION — AGAIN SENT TO NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA — IMPORTANT RIDE TO PORTSMOUTH — TAKING OF FORT WILLIAM AND MARY — THE HIDDEN GUNPOWDER — USED AT BUNKER HILL — ATTEMPTED SEIZURE OF CANNON AT SALEM — REPORT TO JOHN LAMB.

FOUR months after the "Port Bill" event, September 11, Revere's services as messenger were again called into requisition, when Warren chose him to take the "Suffolk Resolves," together with a letter written by him, to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. These famous "Resolves," undoubtedly written by Warren, were the result of two additional penal acts by the English Parliament in May, 1774: — one altering the charter, entitled, "An Act for the better regulation of

the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England;" the other, altering the manner of administering justice, entitled, "An Act for the more impartial administration of justice in cases of persons who shall be questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the Province of Massachusetts Bay." Frothingham says of these two acts: "They were designed to carry into effect the principle, that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever."[1]

These Resolves were adopted by the Suffolk County Convention, September 9, 1774. On the 11th of September, Revere started with them for Philadelphia, which he reached on the 17th, being six days on his way.[2] On the same day they were read in Congress, where they were listened to with rapt

[1] *Life of Joseph Warren*, p. 327.

[2] Of these rides Col. T. C. Amory says: "If not an angel of peace, no braver, more trustworthy, or more intelligent knight could have been selected for a mission, which, as the lines of travel were beset by tories, had its dangers, and required prudence."—*Student and Schoolmate*, 1869, p. 274.

attention, and they elicited great applause. John Adams said of them: "The esteem, the affection, the admiration for the people of Boston and Massachusetts which were expressed, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw tears gush into the eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania."[1]

Samuel Adams, writing from Philadelphia, September 19, and enclosing the resolutions by which Congress recommended a continuance of the charitable contributions from the other Colonies in aid of Boston, says that these resolves gave but a faint idea of the spirit of the members: "I think I may assure you, that America will make a point of supporting Boston to the utmost."[2]

Congress immediately passed a resolve denouncing England's acts, and indorsing the "Suffolk Resolves;" and this great and important news, impatiently waited for by the Boston patriots, was

[1] His letter of September 18, 1774.

[2] *Life of Samuel Adams*, by William V. Wells, vol. 2, p. 228.

brought by Revere on his return, together with personal letters to Warren and others. The action of Congress was printed in the newspapers, the 26th of September. The Tories pronounced these resolves "nothing short of a declaration of independency."[1] They certainly formed a very important step in the impending Revolutionary struggle.[2]

The delegates from every town and district in the county of Suffolk[3] first met in the house of Mr. Richard Wood-

[1] "Whatever these patriots in Congress wished to have done by their colleagues without, to induce General Gage, then at the head of his majesty's army at Boston, to give them a pretext for violent opposition, or to promote their measures in Congress, Mr. Adams advised and directed to be done; and when it was done, it was dispatched by express to Congress. By one of these expresses came the inflammatory resolves of the county of Suffolk, which contained a complete declaration of war against Great Britain." *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution*, by Joseph Galloway, p. 67. London, 1780.

[2] These Resolves are printed in full in the *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, by Richard Frothingham, p. 529. They are nineteen in number, with a preamble, and have the true patriotic ring.

[3] The *Essex Gazette*, September 20. 1774.

SPANISH treatment at CARTHAGENA

P. Revere Sc

ward, in Dedham, on the 6th of September; and by adjournment September 9, at the house of Mr. Daniel Vose in Milton, on the Quincy road, a few rods from the Boston and Milton line. This house is still standing, and in its front has been inserted a marble tablet, fourteen by twenty-eight inches, which bears the following inscription:

"IN THIS MANSION,[1]

On the 9th day of September, 1774, at a meeting of the delegates of every town and district in the county of Suffolk, the memorable Suffolk Resolves were adopted. They were reported by Major-General Warren, who fell in their defence in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. They were approved by the members of the Continental Congress at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia on the 17th September, 1774. The Resolves to which

[1] The view of this house given on page 167 is taken from Rev. A. K. Teele's *History of Milton*. He calls it the "Birthplace of American Liberty."

the immortal patriot here first gave utterance, and the heroic deeds of that eventful day on which he fell, led the way to American Independence. 'Posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preserved them free and happy.'"

Revere was again employed in the October following, while the Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was President, was in session, and anxious to hear from the Continental Congress: "Ten days later, nothing had transpired from this body; but it was reported that Revere, who went as an express from Boston to the delegates, was waiting in Philadelphia for the result of the determinations of Congress."[1]

On this occasion, as on many others, important letters and documents were carried to, and brought from, New York and Philadelphia, by Revere.

Joseph Warren writing from Boston to Samuel Adams, September 12, 1774, says:

[1] Frothingham's *Life of Joseph Warren*, p. 388.

BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

"Gentlemen, — I wrote you yesterday by Mr. Revere, and requested your advice concerning our public affairs; but I wrote in so much haste that I believe I was not explicit enough." And again, September 29: "People were so rapacious for the intelligence brought from the congress by Mr. Revere, that I thought myself bound to publish an extract from your letter; and, although it was done without your permission, I know you will forgive it. Please let Mr. Cushing know, that I should not have published his letter but at the earnest request of a number of our most valuable friends." John Adams, writing to William Tudor, in Boston, October 7, 1774, says: "I have just time to thank you for your letter by Mr. Revere, and all of your favors. P. S. October 9. Mr. Revere will give you all the news." John Andrews, of Boston, writing to William Barrell, of Philadelphia, October 19th, says: "By the return of Revere, am a little easier in regard to matters, as I hope the resolves of the Continental Congress, brought by him, will have some

influence upon the councils of the provincial one, and check their impetuous zeal." [1]

In the December following, and nearly four months before "Warren's message of warning" when

"The fate of a nation was riding that night,"

Revere took another ride; longer than that, and of very great importance. As the messenger from the Boston "Committee of Safety" to the Portsmouth "Committee of Safety," on the 13th of December, 1774, he carried the news that England had prohibited further importation of gunpowder and military stores, and that a large garrison for "Fort William and Mary" was on its way thither. Acting upon this information, the Portsmouth "Sons of Liberty," led by Sullivan, Pickering and Langdon, and aided by others from Newcastle and Rye, some four hundred in number, proceeded to the fort, by water, and summoned Capt. John Cochran and his five soldiers, then in command, to surrender, which they did. "After they entered the

[1] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1864-5.

Fort, they seized upon the Captain, triumphantly gave three Huzzas, and hauled down the King's colours. They then put the captain and men under confinement, broke open the Gunpowder magazine, and carried off about one hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, but discharged the Captain and men from their confinement before their departure."[1]

Concerning this important event, Col. Thomas C. Amory, in his *Military Services of General Sullivan*, says that with Pickering and Langdon, he planned the attack on "Fort William and Mary," "one of the earliest acts of hostility against the mother country; and, by the aid of a portion of a force he had been for some months engaged in drilling in their military exercises in preparation for the anticipated conflict, carried ninety-seven kegs of powder and a quantity of small-arms in gondolas to Durham, where they were concealed, in part, under the pulpit of its meeting-house." This powder, thus secured and

[1] Letter of Gov. John Wentworth to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated, Portsmouth, December 20, 1774, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xxiii, p. 276.

carried to Durham, a few miles distant, was an opportune and important acquisition; and was destined to play a conspicuous part in our history; for most of it was taken from its hiding-place in the Durham meeting-house and drawn to Charlestown, sixty miles away, in "old John Demeritt's ox-cart," where it was served to the soldiers just in season to be used at the battle of Bunker Hill, as the scarcity of that article began to be so sorely felt. "Failing it, Prescott might on that day have shared the martyrdom of Warren, and Molly Stark might indeed have been a widow that night." [1]

Of this act, Mr. Ballard Smith says: "It is a curious fact that the most important as well as the most dramatic incident immediately preceding the American Revolution — an incident, indeed, which directly precipitated hostilities — has but slighting mention in any of the histories. . . It was unques-

[1] "The last ounce of it [this powder] was fired in 1800, from the shot gun formerly belonging to Sir William Pepperell, and found as fatal to the Madbury grey squirrels as it had been to King George's red-coats." — *New Castle, Historic and Picturesque*, by John Albee.

tionably the first act of overt treason. Singularly enough, however, Bancroft makes but a casual reference to it, and in none of the histories is it given more than a paragraph. Yet its immediate consequences were not less momentous than those of Lexington. It was, in fact, the occasion of the conflict at Lexington, and it is more than probable that it saved Bunker Hill from proving a disastrous defeat. if not, indeed, a calamity fatal to further effort to freedom."[1]

On the 26th of February, 1775, Governor Gage sent Lieut. Colonel Leslie, with one hundred and forty men, in a vessel from Castle William, to seize some pieces of brass artillery at Salem. The frustrated attempt was thus communicated to the "Sons of Liberty" in New York:

"BOSTON, 1st Mch., 1775.

SIR, Agreeable to what Mr. Revere wrote you by the last Mondays Post, we the Subscribers have this day met and have determined to send you weekly the Earliest

[1] "The Gunpowder for Bunker Hill," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for July, 1886.

and most authentic intelligence of what may be transacted in this Metropolis and Province, relating to the public affairs and general Concerns of America; that you may have it in your power to contradict the many infamous lies which are propagated by the Enemies of our Country. And we beg it as a particular favor that you would appoint or agree with a number of Gentlemen for the above purpose in your City that we may have early information from you of whatever transpires in your City and province of a public nature. At this Critical period we conceive it to be very important to our Common Cause to have weekly or frequent Communications.

We are Sir

Your most Obedient & most humble Servants,

JOSHUA BRACKETT.

PAUL REVERE.

BENJ. EDES.

JOSEPH WARD.

THO. CRAFTS, JUNR.

THOMAS CHASE.

P. S. Enclosed you have an account of

the late Expedition, which terminated to the honour of Americans. In addition to the Secrecy with which the maneuvre to Salem was Conducted, we inform you that these persons were occasionally at the Castle on Saturday afternoon and were detained there till 10 o'clock on Monday lest we should send an Express to our brethren at Marblehead and Salem. Be pleased to direct your letters to Mr. Joshua Brackett, Boston, Innholder.' [1]

This self-constituted committee did excellent service as vigilant correspondents in acquainting the New York "Sons of Liberty" of the important movements in and around Boston.

[1] From the "Lamb Papers," in possession of the New York Historical Society.

THE RIDE TO LEXINGTON

CHAPTER VI.

THE RIDE TO LEXINGTON.

His Descriptive Letter to Dr. Belknap, 1798 — Earlier Accounts found among Family Papers — The Sunday Ride of April 16 — Its Importance — Hancock and Adams Warned — Dr. Warren's Service in Boston — The Signal Lanterns — Continued Service as Courier — Letter from John Lamb.

ON the night of the 18th of April, 1775, occurred the most famous of all Revere's rides; one that has been immortalized by both historian and poet; "that memorable ride, not only the most brilliant, but the most important single exploit in our nation's annals." [1]

Its history, together with many other interesting details, is given by Revere him-

[1] *William Dawes and His Ride with Paul Revere*, by Henry W. Holland, p. vi, preface.

self in a letter to Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, written several years after the events took place. In the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," for November, 1878, this letter is reprinted from the original manuscript, recently found in the archives of that Society, with notes by Dr. Charles Deane, Corresponding Secretary.[1] This emended letter is as follows:—

DEAR SIR, — Having a little leisure, I wish to fulfil my promise of giving you some facts and anecdotes prior to the battle of Lexington, which I do not remember to have seen in any History of the American Revolution.

In the year 1773, I was employed by the Selectmen of the town of Boston to carry the account of the Destruction of the Tea to New York; and afterwards, 1774, to carry their despatches to New York and Philadelphia for calling a Congress; and afterwards to Congress several times.

In the fall of 1774, and winter of 1775, I

[1] It was first printed with changes and omissions, in the Society's Collections, vol. v, pp. 106–112.

GREEN DRAGON TAVERN.

was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern.[1] We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren, Church, and one or two more. About November, when things began to grow serious, a gentleman who had connections with the Tory party, but was a Whig at heart, acquainted me, that our meetings were discovered, and mentioned the identical words that were spoken among us

[1] This celebrated hostelry was in Union Street, formerly "Green Dragon Lane," and was "always a favorite resort for the mechanics of the North End," says Drake. Here many conferences of Revolutionary patriots took place. Daniel Webster styled the Green Dragon inn the "headquarters of the Revolution." It was also called the "Freemason's Arms." Here met the St. Andrew's Lodge, of which Revere was a member; also the Grand Lodge of which Warren was the first Grand Master, a position afterwards held by Revere.

the night before. We did not then distrust Dr. Church, but supposed it must be some one among us. We removed to another place, which we thought was more secure; but here we found that all our transactions were communicated to Governor Gage. (This came to me through the then Secretary Flucker; he told it to the gentlemen mentioned above.) It was then a common opinion, that there was a traitor in the Provincial Congress, and that Gage was possessed of all their secrets. (Church was a member of that Congress for Boston.) In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers, by patrolling the streets all night. The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched, and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. (They had been previously hauled up and repaired.) We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty.

From these movements, we expected

TAKING THE OATH AT THE GREEN DRAGON.

something serious was to be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About ten o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me,[1] and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house,[2] I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington, — a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North

[1] "Between Warren and Revere there grew up a sympathy so especial and intimate that when Adams and Hancock left it, and Warren alone remained to observe and direct events in the town, Revere became his chosen lieutenant." — *New England Legends and Folk Lore*, by Samuel Adams Drake.

[2] On Hanover Street, where now stands the American House

Church steeple; and if by land, one as a signal;[1] for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River, or get over Boston Neck. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went home, took my boots and surtout, went to the north part of the town, where I kept a boat;[2] two friends[3] rowed me across Charles River a

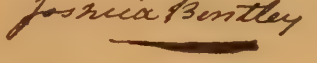
[1] "He said to his friend, 'If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—
One, if by land, and two, if by sea.'" — *Longfellow.*

[2] "The boats of the ferry were drawn up alongside the man-of-war every night at nine o'clock, and then there was no passing after that hour." — *Curiosities of History*, by William W. Wheildon, p. 36.

[3] These were Thomas Richardson and Joshua Bentley. "Thomas Richardson, with two others, laid the platform for the American guns at Bunker Hill; one of the three was killed by a cannon ball from the British. John Richardson, his brother, was with Paul Revere in notifying the inhabitants of Charlestown of the intention of the British to march to Concord. Tombstones are in Copp's Hill." (Letter of John Revere, Paul's grandson, dated October 11, 1876.) Bentley's descendants are now living in Lexington. In the "Old South Loan Collection" of November, 1876, there was exhibited a "Pocket-Book of Joshua Bentley, the Ferryman who carried Paul Revere across to Charlestown on the

little to the eastward where the Somerset

night of April 18, 1775." It now belongs to Joshua Bentley Fowle, of Lexington, a descendant.



Joshua Bentley was the father of the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, of Salem. Charles Wooley, of Waltham, a grandson of Joshua, relates the following incident told him by his grandfather, in a letter dated May, 1886: "My grandfather said that on the evening of the battle of Bunker Hill he went on to Copp's Hill, and saw a hole about ten feet square and five feet deep, and into it the bodies of soldiers brought from the battle-field were thrown. He ventured as near as he could with safety, as he feared he might be taken for a spy; and was sure he heard groans from the bodies as they were thrown into the pit. Grandfather Bentley lived directly opposite Constitution Wharf. He was a boat-builder by trade, and for many years afterwards was a surveyor of lumber. He remained in Boston during the siege, in charge of the North Mills and other property of great-grandfather, — William Paine. I enclose one of his survey bills with his autograph."

A tradition exists in the Revere family, says Drake in *History of Middlesex County*, "that while Paul and his two comrades were on their way to the boat, it was suddenly remembered that they had nothing with which to muffle the sound of their oars. One of the two stopped before a certain house at the North End of the town, and made a peculiar signal. An upper window was softly raised, and a hurried colloquy took place in whispers, at the end of which something white fell noiselessly to the ground. It proved to be a woollen undergarment, still warm from contact with the person of the little rebel." Concerning this incident Mr. Revere says in the same letter as quoted above:

man-of-war lay.[1] It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising.[2]

"The story is authentic of the oars being muffled with a petticoat, the fair owner of which was an ancestor of the late John R. Adan, of Boston; Mr. Adan having repeated the account to my father within a few years of his decease." This house, the scene of this incident, known as the "Ochterlony-Adan House," is still standing at the corner of North and North Centre Streets. It was not very much out of the way to Revere's boat, which he had concealed beneath "a cob-wharf at the then west part of the town, near the present Craigie Bridge." *

There are these traditions in the Lincoln family of Hingham: Jedediah Lincoln married one of the daughters of Paul Revere,— Mary; and the grandson, William O. Lincoln, has often heard his grandmother tell this: When Revere and his two friends got to the boat, he found he had forgotten to take his spurs. Writing a note to that effect, he tied it to his dog's collar and sent him to his home in North Square. In due time the dog returned bringing the spurs. Another is: During the siege, the family, wishing to leave the city, bought a pass of a chimney-sweep, and putting the children, together with the grandmother, into a cart, passed safely out. Still another: Some time before the destruction of the tea, Revere's wife said: "Children, this is the last cup of tea you will get for a long while."

[1] "He was one of the most influential citizens of the town, and entirely in the confidence of the leading patriots. He kept himself in readiness to go as an express at any moment. He had a small canoe concealed in a dock at the north part of the town, and a riding dress always in order to be put on at a moment's warning," — *Life of James Otis*, by William Tudor, p. 458.

[2] "And five minutes before the sentinels received the order to prevent it, two friends rowed him past the Somerset man-of-war across Charles River. All was still as suited the hour." — *History of the United States*, by George Bancroft, vol. vii. p. 289.

* John Revere's letter.

REVERE CROSSING CHARLES RIVER.

They landed me on the Charlestown side.[1] When I got into town, I met Colonel Conant and several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse; I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq., who was one of the Committee of Safety, came to me, and told me that he came down the road from Lexington, after sundown, that evening; that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock, and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown Neck, and got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains,[2] I saw two men on horseback, under a tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me, and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick, and galloped towards Charlestown Neck, and then pushed

[1] Near the old "Battery." Gage's Wharf, No. 85 Water Street, marks the site at the present day, — near the Hoosac Elevator.

[2] On Washington Street, near the Charlestown line.

for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a

REVERE ESCAPING FROM THE BRITISH OFFICERS.

clay pond, near where the new tavern[1] is now built. I got clear of him, and went

[1] "Originally written, 'Mr. Russell's Tavern.' C. D."

through Medford, over the bridge, and up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awaked the Cap-

EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF PAUL REVERE, BY CYRUS E. DALLIN.[1]

[1] A few years ago a committee of citizens, representatives of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, the militia, and Masonic bodies, was appointed to raise money for a statue of Revere. A model of an equestrian statue, by the young sculptor, Dallin, was accepted, but as yet nothing definite has been determined. It is to be hoped that something will be consummated, and that Boston will honor herself by having a statue of Revere in one of her principal squares.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in August, 1873, Colonel Thomas C. Amory, while speaking of the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams then in preparation for the National Gallery at Washington, hoped the day would come when in the malls and squares of Boston there would be statues of "John Adams and James Otis, Hancock and Paul Revere; for Pepperell and Wolfe; for Dudley, Endicott, and Bradstreet; for William Blackstone; for Samoset, Hobomak, and Massasoit, and

tain of the minute men; and after that, I alarmed almost every house, till I got to Lexington.[1]

I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's;[2] I told them my errand,

many more not yet sufficiently honored." Winthrop and Samuel Adams now grace Boston's thoroughfares; and soon Revere will take his place among the city's attractions. It is hoped that ere long others of the worthies mentioned will be added.

[1] "A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet,—
That was all; and yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night."

—*Longfellow.*

Three years before Paul Revere wrote his letter to Dr. Belknap, and sixty-eight years before Longfellow's muse entertained the world with his "Paul Revere's Ride," some one, signing himself "Eb. Stiles," wrote a poem dated March 15, 1795, entitled "Story of the Battle of Concord and Lexington, and Revere's Ride, twenty years ago," in which he says:

"He spared neither horse, nor whip, nor spur,
As he galloped through mud and mire;
He thought of naught but liberty,
And the lanterns that hung from the spire."

[2] He found the house guarded by eight men under Sergeant Munroe, who, upon Revere's arrival, cautioned him not to make a noise. "Noise," said Revere, "you'll have noise enough here before long — the regulars are coming out." Elias Phinney, in his "History of the Battle of Lexington on the morning of the 19th April, 1775," has this phraseology a little different: "Noise!

THE RIDE.

and enquired for Mr. Dawes; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, and supposed that he must have been stopped, as he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an hour, Mr. Dawes came; we refreshed ourselves, and set off for Concord, to secure the stores, &c., there.[1] We were overtaken by a young Dr. Prescott, whom we

you'll soon have a *noise*, that will disturb you all. The British troops are on their march, and will soon be among you." Hancock, hearing this conversation, and recognizing Revere's voice, cried out, "Come in, Revere! We're not afraid of *you*," and he went in.

Dorothy Quincy, to whom Hancock was engaged, and whom she married in the September of this year, 1775, was in the Clark house at this time with Adams and Hancock, and with them she afterwards went on the perilous retreat to Burlington. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes has added to the fame of his ancestress in his poem "Dorothy Q.," some of the lines of which are:

> "Dorothy Q. was a lady born.
> Ay! since the galloping Normans came,
> England's annals have known her name;
> And still to the three-hilled rebel town
> Dear is that ancient name's renown,
> For many a civic wreath they won,
> The youthful sire and gray-haired son."

[1] "'To secure the stores, &c., there,' interlined in Dr. Belknap's hand. C. D."

found to be a high Son of Liberty.[1] I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens met,

THE CLARKE HOUSE, LEXINGTON.

Tablet on Clarke House.

BUILT 1698 ENLARGED 1734
RESIDENCE OF
REV. JOHN HANCOCK 55 YEARS
AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR
REV. JONAS CLARKE 50 YEARS
HERE SAMUEL ADAMS AND JOHN HANCOCK WERE
SLEEPING WHEN AROUSED BY PAUL REVERE
APRIL 19 1775

and that it was probable we might be stopped before we got to Concord; for I supposed

[1] Prescott had been on a visit to the lady to whom he was engaged, a Miss Mulliken, and was returning to Concord when he overtook Revere and Dawes.

that after night, they divided themselves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such

THE FRONT STAIRWAY, CLARKE HOUSE.

passages as were most likely to stop any intelligence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned that we had better alarm all the

inhabitants till we got to Concord; the young Doctor much approved of it, and said he would stop with either of us, for the people between that and Concord knew him, and would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way; Mr. Dawes and the Doctor stopped to alarm the people of a house;[1] I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men, in nearly the same situation as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up;[2] in an instant I was surrounded by four;—they had placed themselves in a straight road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road, and two of them were under

[1] A picture of "the horrors of that midnight cry" has been given in the narrative of Mrs. Hannah Winthrop, of Cambridge. She says that "the women of that town were roused by the beat of drums and ringing of bells; they hastily gathered their children together, and fled to the outlying farm-houses; seventy or eighty of them were at Fresh Pond, in hearing of the guns at Menotomy, now Arlington; the next day their husbands bade them flee to Andover, whither the college property had been sent, and thither they went, alternately walking and riding, over fields where the bodies of the slain lay unburied." (Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in "The Dawning of Independence," *Harper's Mag.*, October, 1883.)

[2] "'There were two, and we would have them,' erased. C. D."

a tree in the pasture. The Doctor being foremost, he came up; and we tried to get past them: but they being armed with pistols and swords, they forced us into the pasture; the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall, and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance, and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers, on horseback, and ordered me to dismount; — one of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from, and what my name was? I told him.[1] He asked me if I was an express? I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston? I told him; and added, that their troops had catched aground in passing the river, and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up.[2] He immediately rode towards those who stopped

[1] "'I told him it was Revere. He asked me if it was Paul? I told him yes,' the last part erased. C. D."

[2] Phinney, in his history of the battle, gives the conversation at this time as follows: "Gentlemen, you have missed your aim," said Revere. "I left Boston after your troops had landed at Lechmere Point, and if I had not been certain that the people, to

us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them, whom I afterwards found to be a Major Mitchel, of the 5th Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me he was going to ask me some questions, and if I did not give him true answers he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then ordered me to mount my horse, after searching me for arms. He then ordered them to advance and to lead me in front. When we got to the road, they turned down towards Lexington. When we had got about one mile, the Major rode up to the officer that was leading me and told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he took me, the Major ordered him, if I attempted to run, or anybody insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them

the distance of fifty miles into the country, had been notified of your movements, I would have risked one shot, before you should have taken me." The deposition of a Lexington soldier, Elijah Sanderson, taken in 1824, gives this conversation in very nearly the same words.

very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other road. After some consultation, the Major rode up to the Sergeant, and asked if his horse was tired. He answered him he was — he was a Sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse — then, said he, take that man's horse. I dismounted, and the sergeant mounted my horse,[1] when they all rode towards Lexington meeting-house.[2] I went across the burying-ground, and some pastures, and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I told them of my treatment, and

[1] There is a tradition in the family of Captain Larkin Turner, of Charlestown, that "Deacon John Larkin's best horse was rode to its death by Paul Revere." This tradition exists also in the families of the Drurys of Grafton, and the Harringtons of Lexington. (MS. letter of Dr. T. Larkin Turner, of Boston, Oct. 7, 1887.) Certain it is, the horse was alive when taken from Revere by the British officer; but he may have been so exhausted by the hard riding of Revere, as to have died while in possession of his new owner, knowledge of which has been handed down in this traditionary manner.

[2] Another account differs somewhat: "Just then a church bell was heard; then another, when one of the Lexington prisoners said, 'The bells are ringing — the town is alarmed — you are dead men.' The frightened officers left their prisoners and fled toward Boston." (*Our Country*, p. 777, by Benson J. Lossing.)

they concluded to go from that house towards Woburn.[1] I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's to find what was going on. When we got there, an elderly man came in; he said he had just come from the tavern, that a man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell and myself went towards the tavern, when we met a man on a full gallop, who told us the troops were coming up the rocks. We afterwards met another, who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to

[1] Hancock and Adams, whose safety was regarded as of the utmost importance, were persuaded to retire to the then 2d precinct of Woburn, to the house occupied by Madam Jones, widow of Rev. Thomas Jones, and Rev. Mr. Marett, which is now standing in Burlington, and occupied by Rev. Samuel Sewall. Dorothy Quincy accompanied her intended husband — Hancock. Here, at noon, they had just sat down to an elegant dinner when a man broke suddenly in upon them with a shriek, and they believed the regulars were upon them. Mr. Marett then piloted Adams and Hancock along a cartway to Mr. Amos Wyman's house, in a corner of Billerica, where they were glad to dine off of cold salt pork and potatoes, served in a wooden tray. (Letter of Rev. Samuel Sewall, in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 60.)

go to the tavern with him, to get a trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. In our way, we passed through the militia. There were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting-house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt; when I saw and heard a gun fired, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musketry; when we made off with the trunk.

As I have mentioned Dr. Church, perhaps it might not be disagreeable to mention some matters of my own knowledge respecting him. He appeared to be a high Son of Liberty. He frequented all the places where they met, was encouraged by all the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and it appeared he was respected by them, though I knew that Dr. Warren had not the greatest affection for

him. He was esteemed a very capable writer, especially in verse, and as the Whig party needed every strength, they feared as well as courted him. Though it was known that some of the liberty songs which he composed were parodized by him in favor of the British, yet none dare charge him with it. I was a constant and critical observer of him, and I must say that I never thought him a man of principle; and I doubted much in my own mind whether he was a real Whig. I knew that he kept company with a Captain Price, a half-pay British officer, and that he frequently dined with him and Robinson, one of the Commissioners. I knew that one of his intimate acquaintances asked him why he was so often with Robinson and Price. His answer was, that he kept company with them on purpose to find out their plans. The day after the battle of Lexington, I met him in Cambridge, when he shew me some blood on his stocking, which he said spirted on him from a man who was killed near him, as he was urging the militia on. I well remember, that I argued with myself, if a man

will risk his life in a cause, he must be a friend to that cause; and I never suspected him after, till he was charged with being a traitor.

The same day I met Dr. Warren. He was President of the Committee of Safety. He engaged me as a messenger, to do the out-doors business for that committee: which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them.[1] The Friday evening after, about sunset, I was sitting with some, or near all

[1] In the Revolutionary Archives at the State House, vol. 164, p. 3, is the following autograph bill, rendered for a portion of the services according to this agreement with Warren, with the Council's comments on the bottom of it:

1775. THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY
TO PAUL REVERE, Dr.

	To riding for the Committee of Safety from April 21 1775 to May 7th 17 Days at 5/.	4 .. 5 .. 0
	To my expences 10r Self & horse during that time	2 .. 16 .. 0
May 6th	To keeping two Colony Horses 10 Days at 1/ pr horse	1 .. 00 .. 0
Augt 2d	To Printing 1000 impressions soldiers notes at 6/ pr Hundd	3 .. 00 .. 0
		£11 .. 1 .. 0

Errors Excepted
PAUL REVERE.

N. B. ye Govnment does not charge ye charges of Impressions for ye Money emitting for other uses than ye army reduced his Labour to 4/ per Day.

that committee, in their room, which was at Mr. Hastings' house in Cambridge.[1] Dr. Church, all at once, started up — Dr. Warren, said he, I am determined to go into Boston to-morrow (it set them all a-staring). Dr. Warren replied, Are you serious, Dr. Church? they will hang you if they catch you in Boston. He replied, I am serious, and am determined to go at all adventures. After a considerable conversation, Dr. Warren said, If you are determined, let us make some business for you. They agreed that he should go to get medicine for their and our wounded officers. He went next morning; and I think he came back on Sunday evening. After he had told the committee how things were, I took him aside and inquired particularly how they treated him. He said, that as soon as he got to their lines, on Boston Neck, they made him a prisoner, and carried him to General Gage, where he was examined, and then he was sent to Gould's barracks, and was not suffered to go home but once. After

[1] Afterwards called the "Holmes House." General Ward held his headquarters in it at one time during the siege of Boston. It is now destroyed.

he was taken up, for holding a correspondence with the British, I came across Deacon Caleb Davis; — we entered into conversation about him; — he told me, that the morning Church went into Boston, he (Davis) received a billet for General Gage — (he then did not know that Church was in town) — when he got to the General's house, he was told, the General could not be spoke with, that he was in private with a gentleman; that he waited near half an hour, when General Gage and Dr. Church came out of a room, discoursing together, like persons who had been long acquainted. He appeared to be quite surprised at seeing Deacon Davis there; that he (Church) went where he pleased, while in Boston, only a Major Caine, one of Gage's aids, went with him. I was told by another person, whom I could depend upon, that he saw Church go into General Gage's house, at the above time; that he got out of the chaise and went up the steps more like a man that was acquainted than a prisoner.

Some time after, perhaps a year or two, I fell in company with a gentleman[1] who studied

1 "'Dr. Savage, now of Barnstable,' erased, and 'gentleman' inserted. C. D."

with Church; in discoursing about him, I related what I have mentioned above; he said, he did not doubt that he was in the interest of the British; and that it was he who informed General Gage; that he knew for certain, that a short time before the battle of Lexington (for he then lived with him, and took care of his business and books), he had no money by him, and was much drove for money; that all at once, he had several hundred new British guineas; and that he thought at the time, where they came from.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavored to give you a short detail of some matters, of which perhaps no person but myself has documents or knowledge. I have mentioned some names which you are acquainted with; I wish you would ask them, if they can remember the circumstances I allude to.

I am, Sir, with every sentiment of esteem, your humble servant,

PAUL REVERE.[1]

BOSTON, Jan. 1, 1798.

[1] "Paul Revere signed his name to the letter, and there it now stands; but afterward, in a different ink, he wrote over the signature, 'A Son of Liberty of the year 1775,' with the caution,

A shorter account of this ride, evidently written in the year 1783, duly signed, was found among his family papers. It is the same story, but in some respects more fully told, differing somewhat in the phraseology. Accompanying this was the original rough draft, unsigned, which differs from the following in some minor particulars. These differences are indicated by the brackets:

Paul Revere of Boston, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England; of Lawfull Age, doth testify and say, that I was [in Boston on the evening of the 18th of April 1775] sent for by Docr Joseph Warren, of said Boston, on the evening of the 18th of

'Do not print my name.' Dr. Belknap, however, erased all this and wrote, 'Col. Revere's Letter,' — the running title in the Collections, — and 'A Letter from Col. Paul Revere to the Corresponding Secretary,' which is the heading of the letter as there printed. The original letter has no date, but the date it bears in the Collections may indicate the time at which it was communicated for printing. The letter may have been written some years before it was printed; and when Dr. Belknap proposed including it in the Collections, the corrections referred to may have been made. The ink in the body of the letter is much faded, while that in which the additions, erasures, and interlineations are made, is quite different. C. D."

FAC-SIMILE OF REVERE'S ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF HIS RIDE.

Paul Revere of Boston, in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, of Lawfull Age, doth testify an say; that I was was sent for by Dr. Joseph Warren, of said Boston, on the evening of the 18th of April, about 10 Clock; When he desired me, "to go to Lexington, and inform Mr Samuel Adams, and the Hon.l John Hancock Esq.r that there was a number of Soldiers, composed of Light troops, & Grenadiers, marching to the bottom of the Common, where was a number of Boats to receive them; it was supposed, that they were going to Lexington, by the way of Cambridge River, to take them, or go to Concord, to distroy the Colony Stores." I proceeded immeaditly, and was put across Charles, River and landed near Charlestown Battery, went in town, and there got a Horse, while in Charlestown, I was informed by Rich.d Devens Esq.r that he mett that evening, after Sun sett, Nine Officers of the Ministeral Army, mounted on good Horses, & Armed, going towards Concord; I sett off, it was then about 11 Clock, the Moon shone bright, I had got almost

over Charlestown Common; towards Cambridge, when I saw two Officers on Horse-back, standing under the shade of a Tree, in a narrow part of the roade. I was near enough to see their Holsters, & cockades; One of them Started his horse towards me, the other up the road, as I supposed, to head me should I escape the first; I turned my horse short, about, and rid upon a full Gallop for Mistick Road, he followed me about 300 Yardes, and finding He could not catch me, returned: I proceeded to Lexington, thro Mistick, and alarmed Mr. Adams & Col. Hancock. After I had been there about half an hour Mr. Daws arrived, who came from Boston, over the neck; We set off for Concord, & were overtaken by a young Gentn. named Prescot, Who belonged to Concord, & was going home; When we had got about half way from Lexington to Concord. the other two, stopped at a House to awake the man, I kept along, when, I had got about 200 Yards a head of them, I saw two officers as before, I called to my company to come up, saying here was two of them, (for I had told them What Mr. Devens told me, and

of my being stopped) in an instant I saw four of them, who rode up to me, with their pistols in their hands, said G-d d-n you, if you go an inch further, you are a dead Man, immediately Mr Prescot came up, we attempted to git thro them, but they kept before us, and swore if we did not turn in to that pasture, they would blow our brains out, (they had placed themselves opposite to a pair of Barrs, and had taken the Barrs down) they forced us in, when we had got in, Mr Prescot said put on, He took to the left, I to the right towards a Wood, at the bottom of the Pasture intending, when I gained that, to jump my Horse & run afoot; just as I reached it, out started Six officers, seized my bridle, put their pistols to my breast, ordered me to dismount, which I did: One of them, who appeard to have the command there, and much of a Gentleman, asked me where I came from; I told him, he asked what time I left it, I told him, he seemed surprised said Sir may I crave your name, I answered my name is Revere, what said he Paul Revere, I answered yes; the others abused me much, but he told me not to be afraid, no one should hurt me, I told him they would miss their Aim.

turn over

He said they should not, they were only waiting for some deserters they expected down the Road. I told him I knew better, I knew what they were after, that I had alarmed the country all the way up, that their Boats were catch'd a ground, and I should have 500 men there soon; one of them said they had 1500 coming; he seemed supprised and rode off into the road, and informed them who took me, they came down immediately on a full gallop, one of them (whom I since learned was Major Mitchel of the 5th R.) clapt the Pistol to my head, and said he was going to ask me some questions, if I did not tell the truth, he would blow my brains out. I told him I esteemed my self a Man of truth, that he had stopped me on the high way, made me a prisoner, I knew not by what right, I would tell him the truth, I was not afraid; He then asked me, the same questions that the other did, and many more, but was more particular, I gave him much the same answers; he then Ordered me to mount my horse, they first searched me for pistols, when I was mounted,

the Major took the reins out of my hand, and said by G-d Sr. you are not to ride with reins I assure you; and gave them to an officer on my right, to lead me, he then Ordered 4 men out of the Brides, & to mount their horses; they were which they had stopped
Country men, who were going home; then ordered us to march. He said to me "We are now going towards your friends, and if you attempt to run, or we are insulted, we will blow your Brains out." When we had got into the road they formed a Circle, and ordered the prisoners in the centre, & to lead me in the front.
We rid towards Leaington, a quick pace; They very often insulted me calling me Rebel &c.; after we had got about a mile, I was given to the Serjant to lead, he was Ordered to take out his pistol, (he rode with a Ranger,) and if I run, to execute the Majors sentence; When we got within about half a Mile of the meeting House, we heard a gun fire, the Major asked me what it was for, I told him to alarm the country; he ordered the four prisoners to dismount, they did, then one of the officers dismounted and cutt the Brides, and Saddels, off the Horses, & drove them away, and told them they might go about their business; I asked the Major to dismis me, he said he would carry me, tho the consequence be what it will. He then Ordered

as to march, when we got within sight of the meeting House, we heard a Volly of guns fired, as I supposed at the Tavern, as an Alarm: the Major ordered us to halt, he asked one how far it was to Cambridge, and many more questiones, which I answered; he then asked the Serjeant, if his horse was tired, he said yes; he Ordered him to take my horse; I dismounted, the Serjeant mounted my horse; they cutt the Bridle & saddle of the Serjeants horse, & rode off, down the road. I then went to the house where I left Mrs. Lowell & Hancock, and told them what had happined; their friends advised them to go out of the way; I went with them, about two miles a cross road: after resting my self, I sett off with another man to go back to the Tavern, to enquire the News; when we got there, we were told the troops were, within two miles, we went into the Tavern to git a Trunk of papers, belonging to Col Hancock, before we left the House, I saw the troops from the Chamber window, we made haste, & had to pass thro our Militia, who were on a green behind the Meetinghouse, to the number as I supposed, about 50 or 60, I went thro them; as I passed I heard the commanding officer speake to his men to this purpose, "Lett the troops pass by, & dont molest them, without

The begin first." I had to go a cross road, but had not got half Gun shot off, when the Minisiteral Troops appeared in sight. behinde the Meeting House; they made a short halt, when one gun was fired, I heard the report, turned my head, and saw the smoake in front of the Troops, they imeadilly gave a great shout, ran a few paces, and then the whole fired. I could first distinguish Iregular fireing, which I supposed was the adeance Guard, and then plotoons: at this time I could not see our Militia, for they were covered from me, by a house at the bottom of the Street: and further saith not.

Paul Revere

April, about 10 °Clock; when he desired me "to go to Lexington, and inform Mr Samuel Adams, and the Hon^le John Hancock Esqr that there was a number of Soldiers, composed of Light troops, & Grenadiers, marching to the bottom of the Common, where was a number of Boats to receive them; it was supposed, that they were going to Lexington, by the way of Cambridge [Watertown] River, to take *them* [Messrs Adams & Hancock] or go to Concord, to distroy the Colony Stores." I proceeded immeditely, and was put across Charles River, [in a Boat] and landed near Charlestown Battery, went in [to the] town, and there got a Horse. while in Charlestown, I was informed by Richd Devens Esqr that he mett that evening, after Sun sett, Nine Officers of the Ministeral [Gage's] Army, [well] mounted on good Horses, & Armed, going towards Concord; I set off, it was then about 11 °Clock, the Moon shone bright. I had got almost over Charlestown Common, towards Cambridge, when I saw two Officers on Horseback, standing under the shade of a Tree, in a narrow part of the roade. I [got] was near

enough to see their Holsters, & cockades. [when] One of them Started his horse towards me, [and] the other up the road, as I supposed, to head me should I escape the first. I turned my horse short about, and rid upon a full Gallop for Mistick Road, he followed [following] me about 300 yardes, and finding he could not catch me, returned [stopped]. I proceeded to Lexington, thro Mistick, and alarmed [awaked] Mr Adams & Col. Hancock. [Mess^r^ Adams & Hancock and delivered my message.] After I had been there about half an hour Mr Daws arrived, who came from Boston, over the neck; we set off [together] for Concord, & were overtaken by a young Gent^n^ named Prescot, who belonged to Concord, & was going home; when we had got about half way from Lexington to Concord, the other two, stopped at a House to awake the man, I kept along. When I had got about 200 Yards ahead of them, I saw two officers [under a tree] as before. I [immeditely] called to my company to come up, saying here was two of them, (for I had told them what Mr Devens

told me, and of my being stoped) in an instant, I saw four [officers] of them, who rode up to me, with their pistols in their hands, [&] said G—d d—n you stop, if you go an Inch further, you are a dead Man. immeditly Mr Prescot came up [he turned the butt end of his whipp] we attempted to git thro them, but they kept before us, and swore if we did not turn in to that pasture, they would blow our brains out, (they had placed themselves opposite to a pair of Barrs, and had taken the Barrs down) they forced us in, when we had got in, Mr Prescot said [to me] put on. He [turned] took to the left, I [turned] to the right [I found since that he knew the ground for he lived within 3 or 4 miles he jumped his horse over the wall and got to Concord], towards a Wood, at [in] the bottom of the Pasture, intending, when I gained [reached] that, to jump my Horse & run afoot; just as I reached it, out started six officers, siesed my bridle, put their pistols to my Breast, ordered me to dismount, which I did. [six others on horseback wrode up to me with their Pistols in their

hands, and put them to my Breast, siesed my bridle and ordered me to dismount.] One of them, who appeared to have the command there, and much of a Gentleman, asked me where I came from; I told him, he asked what time I left it; I told him, he seemed surprised, [he] said S^r^, may I crave your name. I answered my name is [was] Revere, what said he, [he said what] Paul Revere; I answered [said] yes; the others abused me much; but he told me not to be afraid, no one [they] should [not] hurt me. I told him they would miss their Aim. He said they should not, they were only waiting [after] for some Deserters they expected down [that were on] the Road. I told him I knew better, I knew what they were after; that I had alarmed the country all the way up, that their Boats were [had] catch'd aground, and I should have 500 men there soon; one of them said they had 1500 coming; he seemed surprised and rode [immeditly] off into [up to] the road, [to them that stopped me.] and informed them who took me, they came down immeditly on a full gallop, one of them

(whom I [have] since learned, was Major Mitchel of the 5th Regt) clapd his Pistol to my head, and said he was [a] going to ask me some questions, [&] if I did not tell the truth, he would blow my brains out. I told him [replied that] I esteemed [call'd] myself a man of truth, that he had stopped me on the highway, & made me a prisoner, I knew not by what right; I would tell him the truth; I was not afraid. He then asked me the same questions that the other did, and many more, but was more particular; I gave him much the same answers; [after he & two more had spoke together in a low voice] he then ordered me to mount my horse, they first searched me for pistols [Arms]. When I was [had] mounted, the Major [rode up to me &] took the reins out of my hand, and said, by G—d Sr, you are not to ride with reins I assure you; and gave them to an officer on my right to lead me. [I asked him to let me have the reins & I would not run from him, he said he would not trust me] he then Ordered 4 men out of the Bushes, and to mount their horses; they

[whom I found] were country men which they had stopped who were going home; then ordered us to march. He said [came up] to me [and said] "We are now going towards your friends, and if you attempt to run, or we are insulted, we will blow your Brains out." [I told him he might do as he pleased] When we had got into the road they formed a circle and ordered the prisoners in the centre & to lead me in the front.

We rid [down] towards Lexington, a quick [pretty smart] pace; they very [I was] often insulted [by the officers] me calling me [damned] Rebel, &c &c. [the officer who led me said I was in a d–m–d critical situation. I told him I was sensible of it]. after we had got about a mile, I was given [delivered] to the [a] Sergant to lead, he [who] was Ordered to take out his pistol [he rode with a hanger) and if [should] I run, to execute the Major's sentence; When we got within about half a Mile of the [Lexington] Meeting house, we heard a gun fire[d]; the Major asked me what it [that] was for, I told him to alarm

the country; he [then] Ordered the [other] four prisoners to dismount, they did, then one of the officers dismounted and cutt the Bridles, and Saddels, off the Horses, & drove them away, and told the men they might go about their business; I asked the Major to dismiss me, he said he would [not] carry me, lett the consequence be what it will; He then Orderd us to march; when we got within sight of the Meeting House, we heard a Volley of guns fired, as I supposed at the tavern, as an Alarm; the Major ordered us to [a] halt. he asked me how far it was to Cambridge, and many more [I told him after asking me a number of] questions, which I answered; he then asked the Sergant, if his horse was tired, he said yes; he Ordered him to take my horse [which he did]; I dismounted, the Sarjant mounted my horse; they cutt the Bridle & saddle off the Sarjant's horse & [they told me they should make use of my horse for the night and] rode off [toward Cambridge] down the road. I then went to the house where I left Mess Adams & Hancock, and told them what had happined;

their friends advised them to go out of the way: I went with them, about two miles a cross road [& there stopt]; after resting myself, I sett off with another man to go back to the Tavern, to enquire the News [whether the troops had come or were coming]; when we got there, we were told [a man who had just come up the road told us] the troops were within two miles. We went into the Tavern to git a Trunk of papers belonging to Col. Hancock, before we left [got out] the House, I saw the Ministeral Troops from the Chamber window [coming up the Road]. We made haste & had to pass thro' our Militia, who were on a green behind the Meeting house, to the number as I supposed, about [of] 50 or 60. [It was then Daylight] I went [passed] thro' them; as I passed I heard the commanding officer speake to his men to this purpose. [say words to this effect.] "Lett the troops pass by, & don't molest them, without they begin first" I had to go a cross Road, but [I] had not got half Gun shot off [distance] when the Ministeral Troops appeared in sight behinde the Meeting House;

they made a short halt, when a gun was fired. I heard the report, turned my head, and saw the smoake in front of [them] the Troops, they imeaditly gave a great shout, ran a few paces, and then the whole fired. I could first distinguish Iregular fireing, which I suppose was the advance Guard, and then platoons. At the time I could not see our Militia, for they were covered from me, by a house at the bottom of the Street. [Road] and further saith not.

PAUL REVERE.

Concerning this very important ride, so many details of which are given in Revere's own accounts of the same, and its connection with these stirring times, William W. Wheildon, in his "History of Paul Revere's Signal Lanterns," thus epitomizes the action of Warren and Revere: "Dr. Warren had remained in Boston to observe the movements of General Gage, and was the only one of the patriots in town whom the mechanics could consult, or to whom they could communicate their observations and proceedings. During the time, more than three weeks,

that the Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety were in session at Concord, Warren was absent from all their meetings, and prompted all that was done to keep the patriots informed of the movements and purposes of General Gage in Boston; and to him, and Paul Revere as his messenger, belong the honor of alarming the country in season to save most of the cannon and stores at Concord, and meet the enemy in that conflict which did so much to arouse and unite the colonies in the momentous conflict which followed. Had this been otherwise; had not Warren remained in Boston to observe the movements of the British; had not the country been warned and the people aroused, and had General Gage's soldiers been allowed to do his bidding without hinderance, — who shall say what the consequences might have been, temporarily, perhaps, to the cause of the country? The signal lanterns were projected by Revere to carry out the wishes of Dr. Warren, in case any obstacle should occur to prevent him from crossing the river, and at the same time

covered any contingency that might occur to William Dawes, who had preceded him on the same errand over Boston Neck. The merit and wisdom of the lanterns, manifested in the foresight which suggested them, belongs exclusively to Paul Revere, as the value and importance of the whole proceeding does to the constant devotion and presence of mind of Dr. Warren."[1]

It is now thought that the ride on Sunday, the 16th of April, two days before this one, was of more importance than has generally been accorded to it. Revere simply says of it: "The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's." Mr. Wheildon has recently given a new and interesting chapter in the history of the "Concord Fight," wherein he emphasizes the importance of this ride. He tells the story of the Groton soldier, Nathan Corey, who was summoned to meet the minute-men on the afternoon of the 18th,

[1] Drake, in *Old Landmarks of Boston*, calls Revere the *fidus Achates* of Warren.

and proceeded to Concord, with other Groton men, that night, reaching it several hours before the British troops arrived; he gives the votes passed by the Provincial Congress at Concord on the morning of the 17th, probably before the arrival of Hancock, and evidently changed after his arrival, for reasons communicated by him; and from these facts Mr. Wheildon deduces his conclusions concerning the great importance of the message taken to Hancock and Adams on the 16th; and when we realize that cannon and military stores were taken from Concord to Groton on the 18th; that the minute-men of Groton, Acton, Lincoln, Carlisle, and Bedford took part in the action at Concord; and that the minute-men from over thirty of the surrounding towns,[1] some of them many miles away, were at Lexington, and in the pursuit of the retreating British troops; and that it was in pre-telegraphic and telephonic days, there seems to be some reason, surely, for think-

[1] As at present divided and incorporated, fifty-eight towns were more or less actively interested in the events of the 19th of April, 1775.

ing and believing that Warren's information to Hancock and Adams, sent by Revere on the 16th, must have been of such a nature as to cause them to disseminate their fears or expectations to those towns, earlier than could have been done by the messages of the night of the 18th, and the morning of the 19th. And as Mr. Wheildon says: "One result of this story is particularly worthy of notice, since it shows very clearly what has scarcely ever been considered, or, in fact, alluded to, and that is the importance of the service rendered by Paul Revere in his journey to Lexington on Sunday, prior to the much more celebrated midnight ride which followed it. The story of this ride, quiet and peaceful as it was, has never been immortalized in the lines of the poet; yet it shows very clearly that the preservation of the cannon — nearly all that the colony possessed at that time — and probably the largest portion of the ammunition and stores at Concord were saved, as we have seen, by the cautionary measures of Dr. Warren, and the essential service of Paul Revere on the

Sunday previous to the fight at Concord bridge."

That this is the true version of this important affair, is being made more clear as time goes on. As to the particular manner in which the knowledge of the intended expedition of the British soldiers to Concord came to the Americans, it is believed by many, that the wife of General Gage was the medium of communication. The council between General Gage and Earl Percy at the Province House, where the expedition was planned, was known to but one other person, Gage says, who, it is thought, must have been his wife. Even Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, who had command of the troops, did not know, at first, of the destination. Stedman, in his "History of the American War," page 119, says that Percy, after the interview, was passing along to his quarters, when, meeting some of the towns-people, one of them remarked, "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" asked the Earl. "The cannon at Concord," was the answer. Percy immedi-

ately retraced his steps to the Province House, told Gage what he had heard, who felt convinced that some one had betrayed his secret. Gordon, who was chaplain of the Provincial Congress, in his "History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States," says: "A daughter of Liberty, unequally yoked in point of politics, sent word by a trusty hand to Mr. Samuel Adams, residing, in company with Mr. Hancock, about thirteen miles from Charlestown, that the troops were coming out in a few days." This "daughter of Liberty" was undoubtedly the wife of General Gage, who was the daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., president of the Council of New Jersey; and this "trusty hand" was undoubtedly Paul Revere. "It is more than probable, therefore, that the information was imparted to Warren, and carried by Revere to Hancock and Adams."[1]

[1] Samuel Adams Drake, in the *Sunday Herald* for July 6, 1879, who discusses the point at considerable length, being abundantly sustained in his conclusions by numerous authorities. Besides the above, Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, in his "Political and Military Episodes, derived from the Life and Correspondence of Rt. Hon. John Burgoyne."

As Revere says in his narrative, he continued to act as a courier after the battle of Lexington. The following certificate was issued to facilitate one of these many journeys:

"This Certifys that Mr Paul Revear is going express from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to the American Congress; all persons upon the road are desired to assist him with Horses or any other things he may stand in need off.

JAMES OTIS [Senior] Pres^t^ of Council." [1]

Novr 12th, 1775.

[1] That Mr. William Dodd, of Boston, was one of his successors, is shown by documents recently found among his family papers, by his grand-nephew, Horace Dodd, Esq., of Boston. The first is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3d, 1776.

I began to ride express for Mr. Hancock. Expenses in going to Boston and returning . . . . . 79. 0s. 0d.

There are many others of similar import, and receipts for large sums of Continental money carried to different places, and on different occasions; and the following pass in the autograph of John Hancock:

To all Continental Officers and others whom it may concern:

Permit William Dodd to Pass and Repass without the least interruption or hinderance, he being employ'd as an Express in

As before, so on this occasion, private letters were carried to and brought from New York and Philadelphia. John Adams, writing to Joseph Hawley, in a letter dated Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1775, says: "The day before yesterday I wrote a letter to the Honorable Board, in answer to one from their President, by order to us upon that subject, which letter Revere carried from this city yesterday morning." On the back of a letter from Hawley to Adams, was indorsed: "Received this letter at dinner, 4 o'clock, Saturday, 25th November, 1775. Yesterday morning, i.e., Friday, November 24th, Paul Revere went off from this place with my letter to the Board, in which I gave it as my opinion that the council might give up

the Service of Congress, and all Persons are Requested to afford him what assistance he needs.

Given under my hand at York Town in Pennsylvania this nineteenth Day of October, 1777.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid't.*

Another pass is in the autograph of the succeeding President:

I certify that Mr. William Dodd is employed as a Messenger to go to and from Boston on public service.

He is therefore to receive dispatch at Ferries and all necessary assistance on the Road.

HENRY LAURENS,
President of Congress.

PHILADELPHIA, 12th October, 1778.

the point in dispute with the House about the appointment of militia officers, and that the resolutions of Congress mentioned in this letter were so clear that we need not apply to that assembly for explanation."

The following letter[1] from John Lamb to Revere while at Cambridge, indicates the state of feeling in other places outside of New England:

NEW YORK, 21st May, 1775.

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 15th came duly to hand, by which I have the pleasure to find you are in good health, and high spirits. I agree with you in opinion that the eyes of all America are upon us, and that the success of the grand cause, greatly depends on our spirited exertions at this time, — and I flatter myself that with the timely assistance of our neighbors of New Jersey, and Connecticut we shall not fail to disappoint the Ministry in their design to make this City a Place of Arms, & cut off the communication between

[1] From the Revere family papers.

the Southern and Eastern Colonies. Notwithstanding we have still a great number of Villains among us who would readily join the King's Troops and take up arms against us. I have the pleasure to inform you that the people in the Southern Colonies, are extremely busy in preparing for the last appeal. I was lately in Philadelphia where a thirst for Military Discipline prevails to such a degree, as would astonish you. I left that place last Tuesday afternoon, at which time 31 companies were formed and had chosen their officers, who exercise them regularly twice a day, and as fast as they can procure arms, other companies will be immediately formed, and what is still more surprising this spirit begins to operate amongst the Quakers, a body of whom have formed themselves into a company and exercise twice a day, Publickly on the common, besides which a great number are privately learning to exercise (as they do not care to offend their Parents who are very rigid Quakers) that they may be able to act when ever the Publick service may require their aid,—I have not to add but my

best wishes for your Health and Prosperity being with the most Cordial Friendship & Esteem Dear Sir

yours affectionately
John Lamb

Mr Paul Revere
at Cambridge
Favoured by Mr Gardner
Massachusetts Bay

This ride to Lexington has been told not only by Revere himself, but also in the mellifluous lines of Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn." According to his journal,[1] he began this poem April 6, 1860, and under date of April 19, he says: "I wrote a few lines in 'Paul Revere's Ride,' this being the day of his achievement."

The following facsimile of the first and last stanzas was traced from the original draft, written with a lead pencil, as was his wont. Mr. Longfellow preserved all of his manuscripts, had them handsomely bound, and they

[1] *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, by Samuel Longfellow, vol. ii. p. 352.

are still in his study at Cambridge; in fact, everything about the historic old mansion remains as he left it, under the guardianship of his genial brother and biographer, Rev. Samuel Longfellow. This house is, indeed, historic. Here have lived many distinguished men besides our poet; among them Col. John Vassall, Andrew Craigie, Jared Sparks, and Edward Everett. Here Washington had his headquarters when in command of the army:

> "Once, ah, once, within these walls,
> One whom memory oft recalls,
> The Father of his Country, dwelt."

It will be noticed that the facsimile differs somewhat from the printed copy; notably in these lines, which do not there appear: —

> "A cry that like the roll of the drum
> Made known that the fatal hour had come;"

> "Such was the word, and such the deed,
> And the heart of the people says God-speed!"

And the final lines are somewhat changed. There are a few other minor differences in the original and printed copies.

April 6, 1860

Paul Revere's Ride.

Listen, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April in Seventy Five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

So through the night rode Paul Revere,
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A cry that like the roll of the drum,
Made known that the fatal hour had come;
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore.

Such was the word, and such the deed,
And the heart of the people says God-speed!
And borne on the night-wind of the Past
Through all our History to the last,
In the hour of peril men will hear
The midnight message of Paul Revere
And the thumping hoof-beat of his steed

Finished October 13
1860

CHRIST CHURCH AND THE SIGNAL LANTERNS

CHAPTER VII.

CHRIST CHURCH AND THE SIGNAL LANTERNS.

THE "OLD NORTH CHURCH" — AMERICA'S OLDEST CHIME OF BELLS — THE MEMORIAL TABLET — THE SIGNAL LANTERNS — ROBERT NEWMAN — CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION — LONGFELLOW'S "PAUL REVERE'S RIDE."

CHRIST CHURCH — the "North Church" of Revolutionary days, now called the "Old North Church" — is the oldest public building in Boston now standing on its original ground, having been erected in 1723. Here preached Timothy Cutler, Mather Byles, Jr., William Montague, and other famous men. To Rector Montague, Arthur Savage gave the ball which killed Warren at Bunker Hill. This ball is now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. In the graceful steeple of this

CHRIST CHURCH.

church, long a landmark for vessels entering the harbor, hangs the first and oldest chime of bells in America.[1] It consists of eight bells, which bear the following inscriptions:

1. This peal of eight bells is the gift of a number of persons to Christ Church in Boston, N. E., Anno 1744 A. R.

2. This Church was founded in the year 1723. Timothy Cutler, D.D., the first rector. A. R. 1723.

3. We are the first ring of bells cast for

[1] The top of this steeple was blown off in the great gale of 1804, but replaced in same style of architecture, being made sixteen feet shorter.

the British Empire in North America. A. R. 1744.

4. God preserve the Church of England. 1744.

5. William Shirley, Esq., Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Anno 1744.

6. The subscription for these bells was begun by Iohn Hammock and Robert Temple, churchwardens, Anno 1743; completed by Robert Ienkins and Iohn Gould, churchwardens, Anno 1744.

7. Since generosity has opened our mouths, our tongues shall ring aloud its praise. 1744.

8. Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, cast us all, Anno 1744.

And it was from

"the highest window in the wall"

of this church that the signal lanterns were displayed by Robert Newman, the sexton, which bore so important a part in the memorable 19th of April.

And now this

> "Gray spire, that from the ancient street
> The eyes of reverent pilgrims greet,"

has become a monument to Paul Revere. Embedded in the solid masonry of its tower is a large tablet bearing this inscription:

THE SIGNAL LANTERNS OF
PAUL REVERE
DISPLAYED IN THE STEEPLE OF THIS CHURCH,
APRIL 18, 1775,
WARNED THE COUNTRY OF THE MARCH
OF THE BRITISH TROOPS TO
LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

This tablet is a block of granite, ten feet three inches in length, six feet four inches in width, and one foot in thickness. It is forty-two feet above the sidewalk, and was placed in position October 17, 1878. It has been truly said that at nearly every hour of the day some one may be seen "looking up at the lofty spire with an expression of deep satisfaction, as if some long-cherished wish had at last been accomplished." [1]

[1] Samuel Adams Drake in *New England Legends and Folk Lore*, p. 79.

"ONE, IF BY LAND, AND TWO, IF BY SEA."

There has been more or less controversy concerning the church from which these lanterns were displayed. In the light of all the evidence, there is no doubt but that Christ Church steeple was the one. The whole question has been very fully and satisfactorily treated by Mr. William W. Wheildon, in a pamphlet issued in 1878, entitled "History of Paul Revere's Signal Lanterns, April 18, 1775, in the Steeple of the North Church," which he very appropriately dedicates as follows:

To the Memory of
JOSEPH WARREN,
Who Prompted the Patriotic Movements of April 18;
PAUL REVERE,
Whose Foresight Provided for the Signal Lanterns;
ROBERT NEWMAN,
Who Displayed the Lanterns from the Church Steeple;
And their Patriotic Associates,
This Volume
Is Respectfully Inscribed
By the Author.

As in 1775 Robert Newman

> "climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
> By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
> To the belfry-chamber overhead;"

and

> "By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
> To the highest window in the wall,"

and there hung out the famous lanterns, so, in 1875, did his son Samuel H. Newman perform that service at the centennial celebration, concerning which the Rev. Robert C. Waterston, D.D., writes: "When the one hundredth anniversary took place, they had there a deeply interesting celebration at which all honor was given to Robert Newman. His direct descendant walked at the given hour out of the vestry with his lighted lanterns, and down the crowded aisle, and up into the tower, where, one hundred years after, he hung out the lighted memorial lanterns. It was in the midst of my own remarks, that this took place; while I was speaking of Robert Newman, and pointing to Newman's son as he walked by with his

lanterns, I repeated the words of the Psalmist: 'I had rather be a *Door-keeper* in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.' The excited people made the house rock with their response — as if the cannons of Concord and Lexington were even then rending the air!"[1]

And concerning these historic events, the Rev. Henry Burroughs, rector of the church at the time of this anniversary says: "The 18th of April, Easter Tuesday, 1775, is a memorable day in our annals, connecting the history of this church with that of the nation. It was the last day of the rectorship of a clergyman owning allegiance to the King of Great Britain. That evening, the sexton of Christ Church, Robert Newman, sat quietly in his house on Salem Street, opposite Bennett Street, assuming an unconcerned look and manner to avert the suspicion of the English officers, who were quartered upon him, but impatiently expecting the arrival of a friend, a sea captain, who was

[1] MS. letter Jan. 7, 1886.

watching the movements of the Regulars. . . . Mr. Newman succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his unwelcome guests, took down the church keys, and with two lanterns in his hand, went out, met his friend, heard the news he brought, opened the church door, and locked it again after him, and went

> 'By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
> To the belfry-chamber overhead.' . . .

"The twin lights from this steeple waked the fires of war, and symbolized two mighty changes. The colonies became an independent nation, and the Church of England in this land is the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

"If Robert Newman's courage or patience, firmness or self-control, had failed him for an instant, Paul Revere would have looked in vain across the dark waters at the tall steeple rising above Copp's Hill. When his task was done, Mr. Newman came down, passed through the church, jumped out of the back window, went round through Unity and Bennett Streets to his house, and suc-

ceeded in entering it without being observed. The British found him in bed. They arrested him, and threw him into jail. But he had taken such wise precautions that nothing could be proved, and he was set at liberty."[1]

There has been some controversy as to who hung the signal lanterns which Paul Revere arranged to have displayed from the steeple of Christ Church. In 1876, after the centennial celebration in the church had taken place, the Rev. John Lee Watson of New Jersey attempted to prove that it was Captain John Pulling, and not Robert Newman, who showed the signal lights. This claim was refuted in a most satisfactory and exhaustive manner by Mr. Wheildon in his pamphlet, "History of Paul Revere's Signal Lanterns."

Among the residents of the old North End, it was always understood and admitted that Robert Newman was the man who displayed the signal; not one of them can be

[1] Historical Address at the 150th anniversary of the opening of the church.

NEWMAN'S SWORD AND SCABBARD.

found who ever entertained any other idea concerning the matter. Revere knew Newman well; was a schoolmate of his two older brothers. Besides knowing his man to be one upon whom he could depend, he was the sexton of the church, had the keys, and knew the way to those upper windows, reached, as they were to be, "by the trembling ladder steep and tall."

Robert Newman [1]

[1] This autograph furnished by the kindness of a granddaughter, Miss Harriet Newman of Boston. His sword, of which the accompanying is a sketch, is in possession of the Cary Library, Lexington.

FAMILY LETTERS.

CHAPTER VIII.

FAMILY LETTERS.

REVERE RETURNS TO CHARLESTOWN — LETTER TO HIS WIFE IN BESIEGED BOSTON — HER REPLY — LETTERS FROM EZRA COLLINS, SERGEANT SINGER, AND REVERE'S COUSIN JOHN RIVOIRE OF GUERNSEY.

WHEN Revere returned from his ride to Lexington, he made his temporary abode in Charlestown; and while there the following correspondence took place:[1] —

MY DEAR GIRL

I receiv[d] your favor yesterday. I am glad you have got yourself ready. If you find that you cannot easily get a pass for the Boat, I would have you get a pass for yourself and children and effects. Send the most valuable

[1] These letters are from the papers belonging to the family of the late John Revere, a grandson of Paul.

first. I mean that you should send Beds enough for yourself and Children, my chest, your trunk, with Books Cloaths &c to the ferry tell the ferryman they are mine. I will provide a house here where to put them & will be here to receive them. after Beds are come over, come with the Children, except Paul. pray order him by all means to keep at home that he may help bring the things to the ferry. tell him not to come till I send for him. You must hire somebody to help you. You may get brother Thomas. lett Isaac Clemmens if he is a mind to take care of the shop and maintain himself there, he may, or do as he has a mind. put some sugar in a Raisin cask or some such thing & such necessarys as we shall want. Tell Betty, My Mother, Mrs Metcalf if they think to stay, as we talked at first, tell them I will supply them with all the cash & other things in my power, but if they think to come away, I will do all in my power to provide for them, perhaps before this week is out there will be liberty for Boats to go to Notomy, then we can take them all. If you send the

things to the ferry send enough to fill a cart, them that are the most wanted. Give Mrs. Metcalf [*torn*]in, their part of the money I dont remember the sums, but perhaps they can. I want some linnen and stockings very much. Tell Paul I expect he'l behave himself well and attend to my business, and not be out of the way. My Kind love to our parents & our Children Brothers & Sisters & all friends.

My Son.

It is now in your power to be serviceable to me, your Mother and yourself. I beg you will keep yourself at home or where your Mother sends you. Dont you come away till I send you word. When you bring anything to the ferry tell them its mine & mark it with my name.

Your loving Father
P. R.

Boston, 2 May 5 oclock afternoon 75,

Dear Paul

I am very glad to hear you say you are easy for I thought you were very impa-

tient but I cannot say I was pleased at hearing you aplyed to Capt Irvin for a pass as I should rather confer 50 obligations on them than to receive one from them. I am almost sure of one as soon as they are given out I was at Mr Scolays yesterday and his son has been here to day and told me he went to the room and gave mine and Deacon Jeffers name to his Father when no other person was admitted I hope things will be settled on easier terms soon I have not received a line from you to say till this moment Why have you altered your mind in regard to Pauls coming with us? this Capt Irvin says he has not received any letter and I send by this 2 bottles beer 1 wine for his servant. do my dear take care of yourself. O I forgot I have not received but 3£ L M of Parkman and that was not enough to pay our friends Mr S [*torn*] promised to pay you shou[d] be glad to know that your coat is not made [*torn*] John did not incline to do it and I spoke to Mr Boit he engaged to make it if he could not get a pass but as he has that in prospect he cannot I have got a woman

to make Pauls in the house and if you choose I will ask John to cut it and get her to make it she is a very good work woman and works for Doct Mount[*torn*] Rand. Yours with affection

yours R Revere

BOSTON 3 May 1775

DEAR SIR

You Being the only person over the ferry to whom I can apply (as I suppose my Brother Sam[1] to have Return'd home) to assist my Sister in the care of her things, — I shall Esteem it a particular mark of your Friendship if you will afford her your kind aid in that respect, — and the favour shall ever be greatfully acknowledged and very cheerfully retaliated should you at any time have occasion for my services on this side, or anywhere else, and am most

Respectfully yours

EZRA COLLINS

M[rs] Revere Expects a pass this morning.

M[r] Paul Revere

[Address] For M[R] PAUL REVERE

In Charlestown.

Mr. Rievere, — We have waited since Eleven oclock in Expectation of Thomas Anjous arrival at the Chas Town Ferry. You will please Sir to send over word by the next Boat whether he is coming & what time he will be ready to come over. — Mrs Rievere Informed Capt Irving this morning (by me) that you had some Veal & Beef to send over which will be very acceptable. we are ready to receive Mr Anjou when he comes & Capt Irving would be glad you would hasten his coming as much as possible. — There is a pass ready for Mrs Rievere, Family & Effects, as soon as Thomas Anjou comes over.

I am S^{r} y^{r} Humble Servt

Jas Singer Seg't

27th

By Desire of
Capt Irving
Ferry ½ past 1 oclock
To Mr Rievere
Chas Town.

The following letters were written to Paul Revere by his cousin John Rivoire, Harbor Master and Receiver General of Customs, of

Guernsey.[1] The signature and part of the last page is torn off from the first one.

GUERNSEY ye 12th Jany. 1775

Mr PAUL RIVOIRE

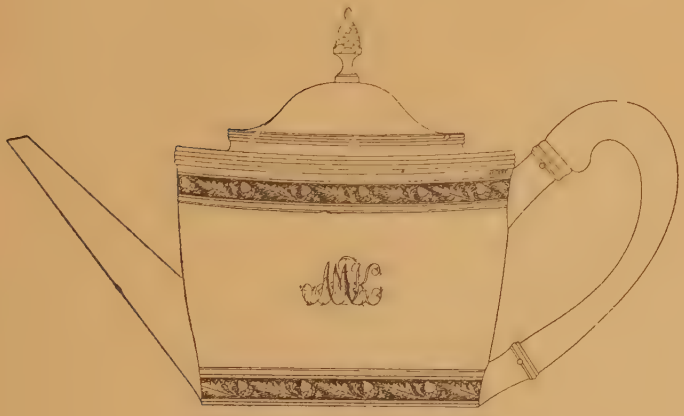
Dear Cousin.

Several years are Elapsed since I had the pleasure of receiving any of your favors. I wish heartily in future we may not be so long silent, but renew mutually a fresh correspondence. Perusing the London News Papers of ye 15 Novr last, I observed a Paragraf wherein I found your name though spelt Revere; having by me one of your former Letters wherein you mentioned "your Father made this alteration merely on account the Bumpkins should pronounce it easier." By this I was fully convinced it must be you. It appears by sd Paragraf you are Deputy (or Express) from ye Congress of Boston to Philadelphia, as sd Paragraf says thus: "This Day arrived Mr. Paul Revere express from the Congress of Boston who brought the agreable News General Gage had desisted from Building the Brick Wall near Boston

[1] From the family papers.

and had dismissed the workmen." It seems by this Dr Cousin you are a person in good Circumstances and without doubt you have many friends at Boston and other places on the Continent and perhaps at St Crus otherwise St Croix, a Danish Island in the West Indies. I should take it very kind you would recommend me to them in Consigning to my House a Cargo (or Cargoes) of Rum either from New England or the West India Islands there is not the least fear of Profit as Guernsey is free from all dutys and a vast Trade carried on by the Smugglers from here to the Coast of England, we have some Vessells who are allways Imploy'd from here to St. Croix for Rum. Your friends may depend on my Integrity and Honor, & Quick remitances in the House they may Order. Good New England Rum would sell well here but would not fetch so much as St. Croix or other Island in the West Indies. White Oake Pipe Staves answer well here and might be loaded in lieu of stowing Wood. I dont in the least doubt your doing your utmost to oblige me therefore will treat on another subject.

COPPER TEA-KETTLE MADE BY REVERE.



SILVER TEA-POT MADE BY REVERE.

My only brother Will[m] Rivoire who commanded a New Vessell British Built, half our property, was never heard off since his sailing from Quebec 16 Nov[r] 1771. by this fatal Accident, I'm the only male Rivoire remaining on this Island and Bachelor at 40 years of Age. we had also another Vessell the whole our property. both these Vessells were Imploy'd in the Wine way from Barcelona to Quebec & from thence with Wheat to s[d] Barcelona. Unluckily my s[d] Deceased Broth[r] Kept me in Ignorance of all his Transactions and always kept Noble Men's company as far as the Vice Roy of Barcelona with whom I have lost money. by this Indiscretion I have considerably lost Money. by others I have been obliged to pay since my Broth[rs] Death near £1500 Sterling. You must Immagine this must have reduced me but in Order there should be no Slurr on the Name of Rivoire, has justly paid every one, without being obliged to be put to shame by Bankruptcy. Our Cousin Mathias Rivoire of Martel near St. Foy 14 or 15 Leagues from Bordeaux writes me there is

one Mr Rivoire of New England now in France. Undoubtedly it must be one of your Broth^rs or your Son, that the said has wrote him in order to discover and recover what may be y^r Father's Claims in those Parts of which he says he is Ignorant. I should be very glad to see this Rivoire in Guernsey, or know how to direct for him in France. We have other relations at a place call^d Riancaut very rich and the whole of their Estate should by Right be my property as Heir of the Eldest Son. My Grandfather Simon Rivoire who defrayed all expences and sent your father who they called Appolos to Boston to learn the Goldsmith Trade. You and me cannot expect anything from those Parts, it is so long since our Friends left their Estates in the time of Persecution that it would be needless. [*The end of this letter is torn.*]

GUERNSEY, ye 12th April 1775.

MR PAUL RIVOIRE

Dr Cousin

I wrote you ye 12 January last by New York Packet which hope you have received and beg your favorable answer. Wheat hav-

ing been very dear in Europe this long while and specially in Old England and of course at Guernsey I'm certain if you or any of your friends should send a cargo to this place to my consignment they might expect a reasonable profit. It sells here at present 4/6: our Busshell 42% weight for your and your friends Government. Referring to what I have before wrote you, I remain

Your sincere and Loving Cousin

JOHN RIVOIRE

Excuse haste as this goes by a Man of War.

MILITARY SERVICES.

CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY SERVICES.

THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE'S TRAIN — COMMISSIONED LIEUTENANT-COLONEL — LETTER TO LAMB — REGRETS THAT HE IS NOT IN THE CONTINENTAL SERVICE — IN COMMAND AT CASTLE WILLIAM — THE ARTILLERY ORDERLY BOOK — BENEDICT ARNOLD'S LETTER — VARIOUS MILITARY ORDERS — BOSTON'S FIRST FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION — GOES TO WORCESTER FOR THE BENNINGTON PRISONERS — GENERAL HEATH'S ORDERS — ORDERED TO JOIN THE RHODE ISLAND CAMPAIGN — GENERAL SULLIVAN'S PATRIOTIC LETTER — REVERE TO HIS WIFE — AGAIN IN COMMAND AT CASTLE WILLIAM — HARDSHIPS, SUFFERINGS, AND TROUBLES INCIDENT TO THESE DAYS OF WAR.

WHEN the British troops evacuated Boston, they endeavored to make useless the cannon at Castle William — now Fort Independence — and the other fortifications, by breaking off the trunions, and in other ways disabling them. At the request of General Washington, Revere re-

paired the damages; and he also invented a new carriage for them. At this time a regiment of artillery, consisting of ten companies, was raised for the defence of the town, with its headquarters at Boston. This was also called the "Massachusetts State's Train." Revere immediately entered the service, being commissioned at first, April 10, 1776, as Major in the First Regiment of Militia. A month later, however, May 10, he was transferred to the Artillery Regiment; and not long after, November 27th, he was promoted to the position of Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment.[1].

[1] Both of these commissions are among the family papers. That for the Lieutenant Colonelcy is as follows: —

[SEAL] STATE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY. { *The Major Part of the COUNCIL of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.*

To PAUL REVERE Esquire, Greeting:

JERE POWELL
W. SEVER
T. CUSHING
R. DERBY
JOHN WHITCOMB
JOHN TAYLOR
JABEZ FISHER
BENJ AUSTIN
B. WHITE
DANL DAVIS
E. THAYER
JOS. CUSHING
DL HOPKINS

You being appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Regt of Train of Artillery raised for the Defence of this State, and for the more immediate defence of the Town and Harbour of Boston whereof Thomas Crafts Esqe is Colonel — By virtue of the Power vested in us, WE do by these Presents (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct,) Commission you accordingly. —

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Lieutenant Colonel in leading, ordering, and exercising said Regi-

His son, Paul Jr., was commissioned a Lieutenant in the 4th Company of this same regiment.

It would seem from a sentence in the following letter written to his old friend Colonel Lamb, with whom he had been associated more or less from the days of the Stamp Act until the breaking out of the Revolution, that his position in this State Artillery Regiment, at Boston, was not what he had preferred; but that he had desired the wider, more active field of Continental service:

BOSTON, Apr. 5, 1777

DEAR SR.

It is with pleasure I imbrace the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter. it always gave me pleasure to break

H. GARDNER
WM PHILLIPS

ment in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline: And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieut Colonel, and you are yourself, to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time to Time receive from the Major Part of the Council, or your Superiour Officer.

Given under our Hands, and the Seal of the said State, at Boston the Twenty seventh Day of Novr in the Year of our Lord, 1776.

By the Command of the }
Major Part of the Council }

JOHN AVERY, *Dpy. Secy.*

your seals — but much more so now after your long imprisonment. I congratulate you on your return to your family.[1] I hope they are well. pray give my regards to your good lady & Father. I long to see the old gentleman, but as matters now are I do not expect it. I did expect before this to have been in the Continental Army, but do assure you, I have never been taken notice off, by those whom I thought my friends, am obliged to be contented in this State's service. I do not write you any news, as Capt. Mansfield can relate all that passes here. I shall be very glad to hear from you often, and when anything of importance turns up, will write you or Col. Arnold. remember me to him and lady. I would have wrote, but had not time. pray tell good Mr. Holt it is not in my power to procure him a Journeyman. Friend SEARS is here — a very merchant; in short I find

[1] Lamb was very severely wounded at the storming of Quebec, December 30, 1775, and taken prisoner. He was held at Quebec for six months, then released on parole, and afterwards exchanged. He received promotion, and again entered the army, serving through the war.

but few of the Sons of Liberty in the army I wish you a successful Campaign. Victory & laurels to you — that you may long remain the scourge of Tyrants is the Sincere wish of your Friend & Humble Servt,

PAUL REVERE.

COL. LAMB.

May 17, 1777, the Selectmen of Boston laid before the Town a list of persons "they judged to be inimical to the united States;" and "Thomas Crafts Esq., Col. Reveire, Deacon Caleb Davis, Col. Isaac Sears," were voted a "Comitte to wait upon One of the Honble Council of this State & desire that the Persons voted by the Town to be inimical persons to these States, be immediately apprehended & confined."

In the artillery service which Revere entered, he remained; fulfilling his various duties with the utmost conscientiousness. He was detailed on many occasions for important duties, and was several times placed in command at Castle William; the first being by an order issued by General Heath as follows:

HEAD Q^RS., BOSTON, 1st September, 1776.

SIR.

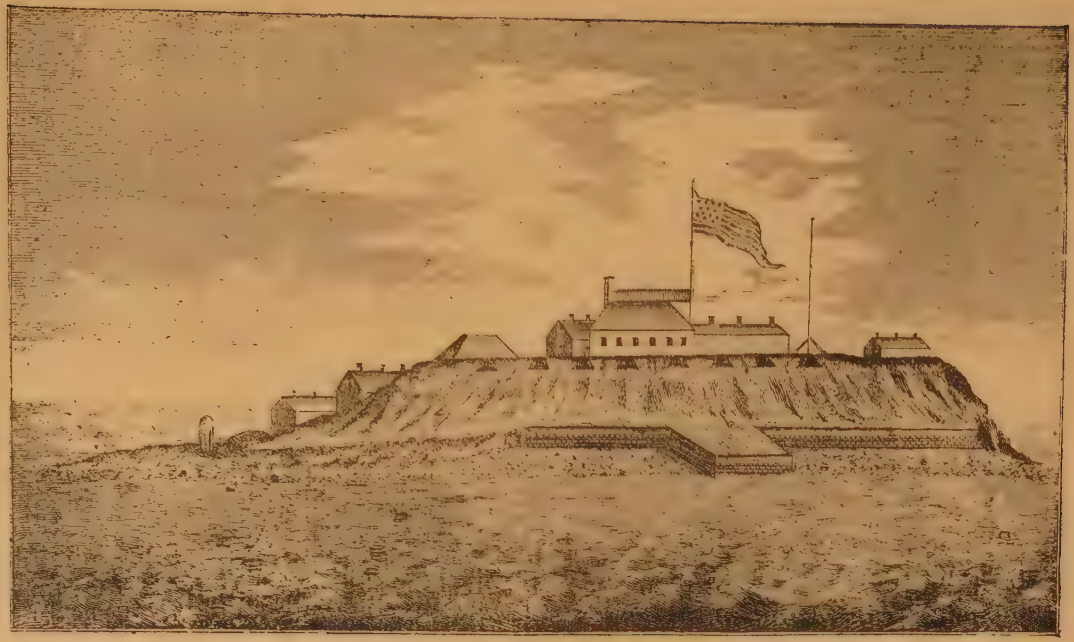
You will immediately repair to and take the Command of Castle Island.

I am sir, your obed^t serv^t

W. HEATH *M. Genl.*

LT. COL^L REVERE.

In the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. xiii., there is printed the "Orderly Book" of this "Massachusetts State's Train," covering a year and a half of the period of its existence, from June, 1777, to December, 1778. It begins at the time of the re-enlistment of the men at the end of the first year's service. Its roster at this time was as follows: Thomas Crafts, Colonel; Paul Revere, Lieutenant Colonel; Thomas Melvill, Major; Increase Newhall, Adjutant; and William Russell, Sergeant Major. The record is in the handwriting of Major Russell. Most of the orders issued during this time were by Major-General Heath and Colonel Crafts; although quite a number of them were issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Revere. There were many courts-martial held during this



CASTLE WILLIAM.

period, the records of which are therein given, on several of which Revere acted as President. All the orders issued at the time are of interest, bearing as they do upon the eventful times in which this Regiment was in service. Only a portion of those that appear in this "Orderly Book," and those that were issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Revere, will be used here. When the following order was issued, Revere had been recalled from the Castle and placed on duty in Boston:

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 1st, 1777.

Order'd

That all Commission'd, Non Commis'd Officers and Matrosses uppon hearing an alarm beat round the town, shall immediately repair to the parade with their Arms & Accoutriments and not leave it till discharg'd by the Command^g^ Officer.

By Order COL^o^ P. REVERE.[1]

[1] Previous to this time, after being called to duty in Boston, Revere received the following note from Benedict Arnold, found among the family papers:

BOSTON March 1st 1777.

DEAR SIR

You will oblige me much when the Boy Sam, he comes to hand to apply to Mr Austin for a Sword Knot, Sash, Two Best Appalets

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 1st, 1777.

Order'd

That Capt Balch, Capt Lieut Minzies, Lieut McClure, Armstrong & Metcalf, Capt Gray, Scolly, Audeburt, and Prince, hold themselves in Readiness to March into Congress Street on friday at 12 oClock, That they Prepare two four Pound Brass Cannon with thirteen Rounds of Powder.

That Lieutenant Bell, Moors & Hart, hold themselves in Readiness to go to the Castle with Thirteen Rounds of Powder and every other Utensail for Quick firing. . . .

By Order of COL° PAUL REVERE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, 2d July, 1777.

Signals for the Castle.

Order'd

That when they shall Discover three Colours hoisted at one time at Nantasket

& one doz Silk Hose — which I beg the favour of you to send me by the Coachman or any safe Operty with the Invoice & the Amt shall be sent you with many thanks.

I am with Comps to Mrs Revere
Dr Sir
Your Obed Hble S.

[Address]

B. Arnold

and one or more Guns fired, they are immediately, to hoist the same Signals and fire three Guns, with their muzzels pointed to the Town, their Centinels are to keep a Strict look out for all Signals from Nantasket, that they may be immediately answ'd. If they Hoist a Flagg, Pendant or Jack, the Castle is to do the same.

PAUL REVERE *Lt Col^o^ Artill^y^* [1]

[1] The General Court of Massachusetts, "having thought proper to give orders that the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independency should be Celebrated in this Town tomorrow by the firing of Canon, &c," Colonel Crafts issued an order, July 3, "That Capt Balch, Capt Lt Menzeis, L^t^ M^c^Clure, Armstrong & Metcalf, three Serj^a^, two Corporals, and Thirty Six men (with two Pieces of Brass, 4 Pr Cannon) hold themselves in Readiness to March into Congress Street to fire a Grand Salute of 13 Rounds.

"That all the Commiss^d^, non Commission'd Officers, and Matrosses be dress'd Clean and in their uniform and Powder'd toMorrow. That all the Drums and Fifes appear Dress'd clean and Powder'd.

"That Capt Lt Ingersol, and Lieut. Audeburt, with one Serjeant, one Corporal & 10 Matrosses march to Fort Hill and fire a Grand Salute of 13 Rounds." A year later, Col Crafts's order for a similar celebration read as follows: "The Council of this State have directed me to Invite the field & Commis^d^ Officers of my Reg^t^ to Celebrate with them tomorrow at 12 o'Clock at the Council Chamber the anniversary of American Independence. To the commanding officer at the Laboratory to be communicated to the Commis^d^ Officers. The Adj^t^ will see that the Officers are notified of the above Invitation. Drum Major Ross may permitt as many of the Drums & Fifes to do Duty with the Boston Militia toMorrow as he thinks proper after our Guards are mounted."

On the 27th August "five Drums & five fifes, one Hundred & twenty Sergeants, Corporals, Bombardiers, Gunners & Matrosses," with their commissioned officers, the whole under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Revere, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march the next morning for Worcester; there to meet and take charge of the prisoners captured at Bennington by General Stark. On the 28th, the Legislature having appointed that day as a "Day of Humiliation and Prayer," the whole regiment was ordered to "Appear at the park dressed in their Uniform, Clean & Powder'd," and thence to the meeting-house to hear a sermon by Rev. Mr. Thatcher. The detachment under Colonel Revere started for Worcester immediately after the service. While *en route* the following order was issued:

WATERTOWN, Augt 29th 1777

As Strict Discipline, and Good Order is the life & Soul of a Soldier, the Lieu^{t} Colonel expects that there will be the best Order observed on the March, the Commissioned

Officers are to see that the men behave well, that they by no Means hurt or destroy any man's property, that they Abuse no person, but in everything behave like men Belonging to the Massachusetts State Train of Artillery. When there is a halt the Serg^{ts} are to be Accountable for the behaviour of the Men. Should any of the Non Commis'd Officers or Soldiers be so hardy as to act Contrary to the above directions they may depend upon being punished with the utmost Severity.

By Order Col^{o} Revere.

In a small memorandum book he made the following entries concerning this expedition:

Watertown Augt 28th
9 °Clock P.M.

Left Boston 6 °Clock, arr^{d} at Watertown at 9. Ordered a Guard one man from each comp^{y} to take care of the Wagon.

Left Watertown 6 °Clock A.M. 29th. Breakfasted Westown. Waited two hours for waggon to come up the Horses not being sufficient hired a horse to Sudbury. dined there. recevd a letter from Mrs Jones West town,

complaining her Store was broke open 12 loafs of Sugar stole. She suspects our People. I have all their Packs searched, find nothing. Suspect they stole the Sugar themselves, out of pretence charge our people, the sugar belonging to the United [States] and they Tories. While at Jones' Capt Todd's Servt pocket picked, two dollars taken out of pocket Book wile hanging in the kitchen. At 8 °Clock arrived at Marlborough & there Lodged. nothing unusual happened. 30th Marched at 6 °Clock A.M. Break^{d} Northborough. Dined at Shrewsbury arrived at Worcester 5 °Clock P.M. Quartered the men in the Town house.[1]

At Worcester several hundred prisoners, "Highlanders, Germans, Canadians, &c.," were taken possession of, and marched to Boston.

At a General court-martial held on the 6th of September, soon after the return from Worcester, of which Revere was president, three soldiers were tried; John Gowin "for Stealing,

[1] In this same memorandum book are very minute directions for the making of Signal Rockets, Fuses, Shells, Carcases, "Artificial fire works," etc., occupying over thirty pages.

being Drunk, Deserting a file of men & Abusing Serg[t] Griffith;" and Thomas Cleverly and Caleb Southward "for playing Cards on the Sabbath." There was not sufficient evidence to convict Gowin, but "The Court are of the Oppinion that Cleverly ride the Wooden Horse for a Quarter of an hour with a Muskett at each foot & that Southward Clean the Streets of the Camp. Paul Revere, Presid[t]." Afterwards this same Cleverly was found "Guilty of a Breach of the 16th article of war [stealing], and do sentence him to be Whip'd ten lashes on his naked back with a Cat O Nine tails."

In September the whole regiment was ordered to take part in the first campaign to Rhode Island. Upon the regiment's return to Boston, Colonel Crafts returned his thanks, November 3, to the "Gentlemen, Officers, Non Commission'd Officers & Matrosses for their extraordinary Military & Soldier-like behaviour on the Rhode to & from Camp & the polite treatment the Inhabitants rec[d] from them. Such conduct will always keep the Regiment in high esteem & they never need fear, being well supply'd & kindly treated

whenever called out to March through the Country." Soon after the return from Rhode Island, Revere was again placed in command at Castle William, and the Council issued the following order:

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY
COUNCIL CHAMR Jan 2d 1778.

Ordered that Lieut Colo Revere & Major Melvil & Capt Ayres be and they hereby are directed to go on Board the Cartel Brig Favourite to assist Robert Pierpoint, Esq. Comissary of Prisoners in the Examination of said Cartel & to see that they have no more Prisoners on Board than were exhibited by the said Comissary to this Board being in Number one hundred & fifty.

read & accepted
JNO. AVERY *Dy Secy* [1]

In addition to previous instructions General Heath sent the following to Revere:

HEAD QUARTERS BOSTON Mar. 1st 1778

SIR

In addition to the Orders of the 21st of January you will please upon the arrival of the

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 174, p. 64.

Militia who are ordered to reinforce the Garrison at Castle Island to direct that they be Quartered as conveniently as may be. You will mount such Guards, and post such Sentries as you may think necessary for the security of the Post, and the strength of the Garrison will admit. Hull, Long Island & Governor's Island are also to be considered as under your Command to whom you will give such orders as you may from time to time think necessary, such orders not to be repugnant to the General Standing orders of each Post already given.

All letters from the Fleet are to be received at Long Island and immediately transmitted to you, — they are to be by you, without delay forwarded to Head Quarters. No letter in any case, or on any pretence whatever, is to be sent to the Officer at Long Island, to be forwarded to the Fleet unless it shall appear in writing that such letter has been examined at Head Quarters and has my permission to be sent on board.

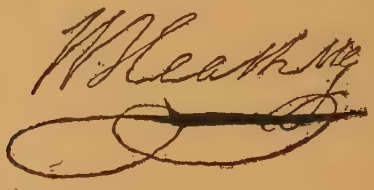
You will please frequently to direct that the Men's arms and ammunition are carefully

inspected and that your Garrison are at all times in readiness to make a vigorous defence should they be attacked, in particular take every precaution to prevent a surprise. You will make such disposition, and give such orders to the Commanding Officer at Governor's Island, as may be necessary for that post.

I will not add save that you have the charge of several important Posts put into your hands, and relying on your Zeal & abilities rest assured that no measures will be omitted which your own Honor and the Safety of your Country require.

I am Sir

Your Obedient Servant



P.S. Regular weekly returns of the several Garrisons &c. are to be sent to Head Quarters.

LIEUT COLO REVERE.

[Address] LIEUTENANT COLONEL REVERE.[1]

[1] From the family papers.

A few days later Revere wrote to General Heath:

CASTLE ISLAND March 8 1778

HON^D S^R

The last Evening about 6 °Clock, the wind blowing fresh at East, & extream thick of snow, the Sentry discovered a Sloop with a white flagg at her topmast head, which we brought too. I sent an officer on board, who wrote me she was a Cartel from Capt Dalrymple, of the Juno Frigate, who commands the Transports which are Ordered for the reception of Genl Bourgoin's Troops. I immediately Ordered a Subaltern's Guard on board with orders, not to suffer any person, to go from, or come on Board without my express Orders in writing. I likewise Ordered the Captain of the Cartell as soon as wind & weather permitted to fall down to Nantasket Road, when he must not suffer any of his people to go on shore, on any pretence. He is very desirous of getting some water from one of the Islands, which will not be granted with[out] your permit. I send you by Capt. Phillips a letter for Genl Bourgoine, as he is

the officer that went on Board. I refer you to him for particulars.

[*Endorsed: "Copy of letter to G. Heath."*]

To this General Heath replied:

HEAD QRS BOSTON Mar. 8, 1778.

SIR

The Cartel may lie at anchor near the Castle — you will please to keep a small Guard on board to prevent any Boats going off from her. You will please to order an officer to go on board and examine if any Cannon, fire Arms, or Military Stores are on board and also the number of hands. If upon examination it should appear that they really stand in need of Water you may permit their boat to go on shore under a proper Guard at Spectacle Island. Let every civility be shown to the Flag. You will please to inform the Captain that the Letters are sent to Cambridge and an answer will be sent him as soon as it is received.

I am Sir

Your H'ble Servt

W HEATH *M. G.*

LT COLO REVERE

HEAD QRS BOSTON March 8th 1778

SIR

I have ordered the State Galley down to take your direction — I think it will be much better to have her lie at Anchor near the Cartel, than to keep a Guard on Board. You will please to direct that the Galley take a proper Station, & so near the Cartel as to prevent any Boat going to, or coming from her — You will please to order such Guard on board the Galley as you may think proper — The Galley has [*torn*] Swivels 10lb loose powder 32 Round Shot & 200 Musket Cartridges — You will please to order the whole to be properly fixed — Permit no letter to be sent on board without Certificate from myself — And prevent Conversation between our Soldiers & the Hands on board the Cartel.

I am Sir

Your Obt Servt

W HEATH, *M. G.*

P.S. Genl Burgoyne will not send an Answer to the Cartel before tomorrow. There are a Skipper & 2 hands on board the Galley.

TO LT COL. REVERE.

Boatmen on Fatigue are to be allowed a gill of Rum pr day.[1]

[1] The last three letters are from the family papers.

The next day Revere reported to General Heath:

CASTLE March 9 1778

HON^D S^R

Agreeable to your Orders, I sent Capt Phillips on board the Cartel, who reports he has searched her. He found no Cannon, Arms nor Ammunition. They say they have forty men including officers, ten days provision, and Seven Butts of water. She is used as an armed Vessel by the enemy. They took her Guns &^c out, before she came away and have the Same Men, as when an armed Vessel. The officers behaved very civil, and made no Objection to being searched. He has renewed his application for water. Shall give him leave tomorrow, to go to Spectical Island with his boat, but will send a Guard with him. Inclosed is the Returns from Castle Island, Governors and Long Islands; have not received Returns from Hull.

Your Dutifull Hum^l Servt

MAJOR GEN^L HEATH PAUL REVERE.

P.S. We have not men enough to do duty on the Island. I should be glad another Compy might come today

[Address] Honble Maj. Genl Heath.
Boston.[1]

In accordance with the request in the above postscript, the following order was issued:

Head Quarters Boston Apl 13th 1778

Colo Crafts will Immediately Reinforce Lt Colo Revere at the Castle with twenty men from his Regiment of State Artillery.

The Detachment of Militia now doing duty at Governor's Island are to move Immediately to the Castle, where they are to do Duty under Lt Colo Revere untill further Orders

By Order Major Genl Heath.

At this time the following representation was made by the officers of the

[1] From the "Heath Papers," vol. 8, p. 191, in possession of Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Massachusetts State's Train;" written by Revere:

To the Honble the Council & House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay

We the Subscribers Officers in the State Regiment of Artillery commanded by Colo: Thomas Crafts

Beg leave to represent to your Honors That by reason of the excessive high price of every Article of Clothing we are not able to maintain ourselves and appear like Officers in this State service.

We therefore pray — That your Honors would grant us the same Indulgence the Continental Officers have viz: of Drawing a few Necessarys out of the State Stores — paying the same prices as they do —

We stand in need of the following Articles. As much Blue Cloth as will make each a Coat with trimmings for the same some White Woolen or Linnen cloth for Waistcoat & Breeches, Two pair of stockings, Linnen for two Shirts, Two pair of

Shoes, and as much Ticking or other strong Check as will make a [*torn*]

And your petitioners as in duty bo[*torn*]

PAUL REVERE
THOMAS MELVILLE
WILLIAM TODD
WINTHROP GRAY
TURNER PHILLIPS
PH[*torn*]
J[*torn*] GILL

HONble COUNCEL FOR
MASSACHUSETTS STATE
BOSTON March 30th 1778.

IN COUNCIL Apr. 4, 1778.

Read & sent down

JNº AVERY *Dy Secy*.[1]

The House of Representatives agreed to the terms of this petition on April 6, and the Board of War was ordered to deliver the materials as enumerated.

There is also in the Council records the following order:

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
COUNCIL CHAMBER, May 13, 1778.

Ordered that Lieᵗ Colonel Revere be and he hereby is directed to fire the Heavy

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 218, p. 410.

Cannon at Castle Island when the French Frigate passes by the Castle Provided she Salutes the same.

Read & accepted

Jn° Avery *Dy Secy*.[1]

Other applications were made to the Council by Revere, for necessaries for the Castle:

Gentlemen.

There is wanted for the Castle, and Hull; one Flagg, two Jacks, and two pendants; for Signal Colors, those which are now in use being so torn, that we can hardly distinguish them from each other.

Paul Revere *Comg Officer.*

The Honorable Council
of Massachusetts State.[2]

On the same date the Council passed an order for the necessary bunting to be delivered to Colonel Crafts. Soon after he made a requisition for "800 Wt 1oz Grape-shott, 100 four pound Shot — one doz. Ham-

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 168, p. 304.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 174, p. 319½.

mers — two Doz[n] pincers," which were also ordered by the Council.

July 27, Colonel Crafts gave orders to his regiment to hold itself in readiness to "March as a Reinforcement to Joyn the Army at Providence under the Command of Gen[l] Sullivan;" but only a portion of it was ordered to march for Tiverton, R. I., on the 29th. Lieutenant Colonel and First Lieutenant Revere were in this expedition. This proved an abortive campaign. D'Estaing and his French fleet went to Boston, and Sullivan and his army returned. Colonel Crafts's regiment was back in its old quarters at Boston, Sept. 9.

During this campaign General Sullivan wrote the following letter, which was found among the Revere family papers:

RHODE ISLAND, Aug. 11th, 1778.

GENTLEMEN.

I am sorry to find it necessary that I should repeatedly urge expedition to those, whom their Country in this day of Glory has called upon to put a period of Nefari-

ous War. To every man of common observation it must be apparent, that the present struggle has not afforded so flattering an opportunity, to give a decisive blow to a sinking enemy as the present moment, cut off from every advantageous communication, every appearance of support, they must fall a sacrifice to our just resentment if not shortly relieved. It is our duty to accelerate their downfall, by every spirited exertion. March on my brave countrymen — let us rush upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent and bear down all opposition before succors of men and provisions arrive and render the attempt more hazardous. Thus my brave brethren by pushing forward to my assistance you will not only render esential service to your country, but confer the greatest obligations, on

Your Humble Servant John Sullivan Commander of the Army on Rhode Island

To the Commanding Officers of Corps or Brigades.

At this time, Revere wrote the following letter to his wife. It bears no date, but was

undoubtedly written in August, from the camp of the American forces on the Island of Rhode Island, to the north of Newport, then in possession of the British. It gives information concerning the expedition, and is an affectionate and patriotic letter.

[RHODE ISLAND, August, 1778.]

MY DEAR GIRL,

Your very agreeable letter came safe to hand, since which I have wrote, but received no answer. I believe you are better: what a *pleasure* to hear! Pray take care of yourself & my little ones. I hoped ere this to have been in Newport; my next I hope will be dated there. We have had the most severe N. East Storm I ever knew, but, thank Heaven, after 48 hours it is over.[1] I am in high health and spirits, & [so is] our Army. The Enemy dare not show their heads. We have had about 50 who have deserted to us; Hessians & others. They say many more will desert, & only wait for opportunity. I am told by the inhabitants that before we

[1] This terrible storm occurred on Aug. 12 and 13, 1778.

came on, they burned 6 of their Frigates; they have destroyed many houses between them & us. I hope we shall make them pay for all. The French Fleet are not returned, but I just heard they were off Point Judith with 3 frigates, prizes; this, I am told, comes from Head Quarters. I do not asert it for fact, but hope it is true. You have heard this Island is the Garden of America, indeed it used to appear so; but those British Savages have so abused & destroyed the Trees (the greatest part of which was Fruit Trees), that it does not look like the same Island; some of the Inhabitants who left it hardly know where to find there homes. Col. Crafts is obliged to act under Col. Crane, which is a severe Mortification to him. I have but little to do with him, having a separate command. It is very irksome to be separated from *her* whom I so tenderly love, and from my little Lambs; but were I at home I should want to be here. It seems as if half Boston was here. I hope the affair will soon be settled; I think it will not be long first. I trust that Allwise being who

has protected me will still protect me, and send me safely to the Arms of her whom it is my greatest happiness to call my own. Paul is well; sends Duty & love to all. I am surprised Capt. Marett has not rote me. My duty to my Aunts, my love to Brothers & Sisters, my most affectionate love to my children. It would be a pleasure to have a line from Deby. Lawson desires to be remembered to you. My best regards to Mrs. Bennet, Mr. Burt, Capt. Talling, & all enquiring Friends. Col. Marescall, who is one [of] Gen[l] Sullivans Adi Camps, tells me this minute that the French have took a Transport with British Grenadiers, but could not tell the particulars.

Your Own,

PAUL REVERE.[1]

Soon after the return from the Rhode Island campaign, Revere was again placed in command at Castle William, with a portion of the Artillery Regiment, as indicated by the following action of the Council:

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873–1875, pp. 251, 252.

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
COUNCIL CHAMBER, Sept. 1, 1778.

Ordered that Major General Heath be & hereby is desired to order Liet. Colonel Revere to Castle Island, there to take command of that fortress untill further orders.

Read & accepted.

JNO. AVERY, *D^y Sec^y*.[1]

On the 19th and 21st of the same month he applied to the Board of War for a long list of ordnance stores, including all sizes of shot and canister, together with other articles, closing his requisition as follows:

N. B. One Hundred Rounds is quite little enough for each Cannon.

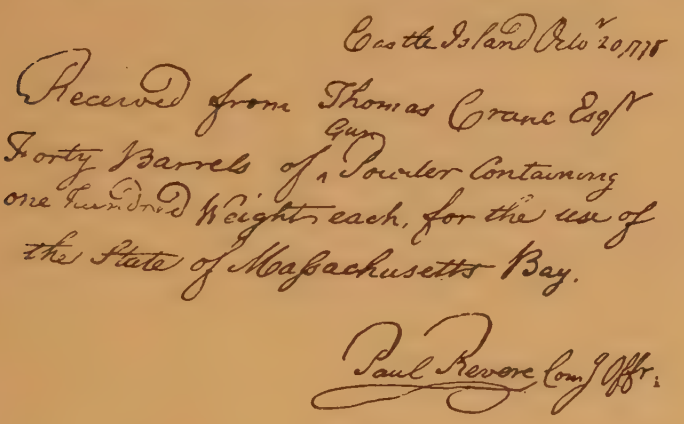
There is not upon an average more than Sixteen rounds of powder on the Castle belonging to this State.

PAUL REVERE, *Com^g Officer*.[2]

The next month a supply was received from the powder-mill in Canton, and the following receipt was given:

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 174, p. 410½.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 174, p. 441.


Castle Island Octo^r 20, 1778
Received from Thomas Crane Esqr
Forty Barrels of Gun Powder Containing
one hundred Weight each, for the use of
the State of Massachusetts Bay.
Paul Revere Com^g Off^r.

CASTLE ISLAND, Octo^r 20, 1778.

Received from Thomas Crane Esqr Forty Barrels of Gun Powder, Containing one hundred Weight each for the use of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

PAUL REVERE *Com^g Off^r.*

Later the following order was issued by the Council:

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
COUNCIL CHAMBER, Dec. 29, 1778.

Ordered that Lt Col. Reviere, Comanding at the Castle be & he hereby is authorized & empowered to impress the first Vessel loaded with Wood that shall arrive in the Harbour of Boston unless previously En-

[1] Facsimile of original document in possession of the Bostonian Society.

gaged to some Inhabitant of said Town of Boston (Warfingers excepted) said Wood being for the Use of Castle Island — Col° Reviere paying for said Wood.

Attest,

Jn° Avery, *D^y Sec^y*.[1]

Some of the hardships of the soldiers, sufferings of families, and other troubles incident to these dark days, are shown in the following letter to the Council:

Castle Island March 17 1779.

To the Honorable Council.

Gentlemen, — I mentioned to your Honors a few days since, some difficulties which I laboured under, by reason the men had not their necessarys from the Comm^y General (granted them by the Honble Court) The commotions which have been in the Reg^t, with their Real, and imaginary grevances have greatly increased those Difficulties; as your Honors will see by the enclosed, which was sent to my Quarters the last evening.[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 175, p. 27.

[2] This was a paper written by one of the enlisted men, setting forth some of the wrongs they wished righted. It is in Massachusetts Archives, vol. 175, p. 187.

It is my Duty as their Officer to lay before your Honors a true State of their case.

At the time they Inlisted, they were promised by their Officers they should receive Yearly, a Coat, Waist-Coat, one p^r Breeches, one Hatt, two Shirts, two p^r Stockings, two p^r Shoes and one Blanket, the same as the Continental Soldiers. — They have not received but one Shirt, one p^r Stockings, one p^r Shoes, and one Blanket the first Year. — most of their Blanketts are worn out; some lost their Blanketts on the retreat from Rhode-Island, many have been without all Winter. — They have received no pay for the month of August, when in Rhode-Island; some of them have five months pay due, and all of them three: many have no shoes, and but one shirt, & It is three months, since they drew any necessarys from the Commissary General. I shall be exceeding glad if Your Honors will take the above into your wise consideration, and point out some way, by which these Mens minds may be Eased. Many of them have families which are Starving; they have not the advantage

of Continental Soldiers; the Town they belong to will not supply their Familys. I beg leave to propose to Your Honors, that the supernumerary Non-Commission Officers, Drums, and Fifes, may be dismissed, as there is near Forty of them, and their pay and Rations come to near £1000 p^{r} month, and the Bread they draw will be wanted. And that the three Companys may be Organized, as I find it extremely dificult to take care of them as they now are.

I must renew my desire that the Officers who remain, may make out the Pay Rolls; as some of the Officers are gone, and others are away; and some have refused to take the trouble of paying them.

Your Hum^{ble} Servant

PAUL REVERE Lieu^{t}. Col.

N.B. Mr. Devens the Commisy General told me yesterday, that he could make out to supply one month's necessarys if the Council desired Him.[1]

The next day, March 18, the Council appointed a committee, of which Artemas

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 175, p. 188.

Ward was chairman, to take these matters into consideration; and on the 19th, the Council ordered Revere to submit a list of officers for these three companies under his command at the Castle, which he did, and they were duly commissioned.

Several years after this time, he wrote the following certificate concerning men discharged on the same day that he submitted his list of officers:

BOSTON, June 19, 1792.

I certify that James Pratt, Daniel Warner, Mathew James and Joseph Robbins, were non commission officers in the Regiment of Artillery commanded by Col Thomas Crafts, and, that they were discharged by me on the 19th March 1779, agreeable to an Order of the Council of this State.

PAUL REVERE.

I suppose Col Crafts can tell by the Regimental books, whose compy they were in & what Rank P. R.

[1] Copied from the autograph in the collection of Mr. Ernest L. Merrill, of Melrose, Mass.

Various other certificates of this kind were given by Revere, as commander of the Artillery Company, and are now found in autograph collections.

April 3, 1779, he was directed by the Council to "Cause the Garrison at Castle Island to be put in the best posture of Defence without Delay & if you find a Deficiency of any article necessary for the Defence of the same you will make report to this Board soon as may be.

In the Name & by Order of Council

Attest JN° AVERY *D Secy*.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 175, p 230. The original order sent to Revere, found among the family papers, is signed, "Jer. Powell Presidt."